SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY,
SELINS GROVE, PA.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DCXLVIII.

NOVEMBER, 1909.

WHAT USE IS THE PANAMA CANAL TO OUR COUNTRY WITHOUT AMERICAN SHIPS

BY BERNARD N. BAKER.

Most of what we have heard and read of the Panama Canal relates to its political and strategic advantages. It is somewhat curious that as a practical people the Americans have thus far been disposed to consider this vast enterprise from the standpoint of sentiment. The thought dominant in the American mind is that the canal will be worth its great cost as an agency in the broader statesmanship in which the United States is engaged. There has been a great deal of the "hurrah" in the promotion of this project, with a magnificent disregard of what it may mean as a waterway when it is finished.

No one can reasonably find fault with this condition. Many of the most useful works owe their origin and success to politics and military foresight. But in the end means must be found to pay the cost of operation and to make some return upon the capital invested. More important still, it is incumbent upon us to inquire wherein we may use our new opportunities for the increase of our commerce. For in the near future and largely in

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the present national safety depends to a very considerable degree upon the power of the people to command their just share in the trade of the world.

Let me say from personal observation that the work at Panama is being done in a manner that deserves the support and admiration of every one. Nothing in human history can equal it. All the more, therefore, should we strive as a people to prepare ourselves for the new facilities which our Government is preparing to give us by dividing this great hemisphere and saving to water traffic thousands of miles of dangerous navigation.

At conservative estimates we shall have invested in the Panama Canal, when it is completed, at least $500,000,000, and the minimum working expenses have been placed at about $5,000,000 per annum. Any one can see from this that a very remarkable traffic will be required to meet the fixed charges. It is not likely that this traffic will be forthcoming in the early years of the canal, and it is still more doubtful that it will arrive within the next decade unless our own people begin to make provision for it. Personally, I feel quite certain that with the enormous growth of our country, and with the really wonderful development that is going on in South America, and with the new fields that are open in the Far East, we shall be able to make the Panama Canal pay, not only as a canal, but as a help to the vast bulk of American trade. But it requires some boldness to lift this optimism out of the conditions that at present prevail, and the purpose of this article is to point out certain facts that would be grotesque if they were not so pitifully true.

Our able Secretary of State has lately presented the statistics in travel and trade between Latin-American countries and the United States. Travel increased fifty per cent. during the preceding year, and our Latin-American trade grew from $261,000,000 in 1897 to $596,000,000 in 1907, or one hundred and twenty-eight per cent., while our exports to Latin America grew from $76,000,000 in 1897 to $256,000,000 in 1907, or two hundred and thirty-seven per cent. But our share of this trade is only 13.8 per cent., while the vast bulk goes to England, Germany and Japan. To-day six lines of railway are being built across South America, and they mean new business of the largest value. But the small percentage of that which we are securing is transported, like our other South-American trade, mainly in foreign bottoms.

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To-day there are only eleven vessels engaged in foreign trade that fly the American flag, and it may be well to give the list here:

"American Line plying between New York and Southampton: 'St. Paul,' 11,629 tons; 'St. Louis,' 11,629 tons; 'Philadelphia' (British built), 10,786 tons; 'New York' (British built), 10,798 tons. Great Northern Steamship Company plying between Seattle and the Orient: 'Minnesota,' 20,718 tons. Pacific Mail Steamship Company plying between San Francisco, Hawaii, Japan, China and Hongkong: 'China' (British built), 5,060 tons; 'Korea,' 11,276 tons; 'Siberia,' 11,284 tons; 'Manchuria,' 13,639 tons; 'Mongolian,' 13,639 tons. International Mercantile Marine Company plying between Antwerp and Boston: 'Samland,' 9,710 tons—eleven vessels in all, making a total tonnage of 130,166 tons."

That is all the United States now has in the cross-seas service. Compare this with England's 11,517 vessels, with a total tonnage of 18,320,668, or of Germany's 2,094, with a total of 4,110,562 tons. In order that these comparisons may be understood, it should be stated that there are a little over 800,000 tons which the Marine Report gives to our foreign trade, but which is made up of vessels plying between Canada and port to port in the United States, both on the Great Lakes and in the coastwise trade.

The point in this glaring contrast is that the United States simply has not the ships afloat or under construction, or even under consideration, to develop any trade with South America or with any other part of the world.

A second point is even more amazing. The United States Government owns the Panama Steamship Company from New York to Colon and owns the Panama Railroad Company from Colon to Panama and operates them as commercial lines. The Panama Steamship Company claims the right to regulate rates to and from Colon on account of the joint ownership of the Panama Steamship Company and the Panama Railroad Company by the United States Government War Department. Keeping this ownership in mind, I have tried to drive home the present situation by the following statement of facts and rates:

1. The rate on hides from Central America to New York is $30 a ton. The Pacific Coast Steamship Company, from Central America to Panama, receives $12 a ton; the Panama Railroad Company, from Panama to Colon, receives $8.10 a ton; and the Panama Steamship Company, from Colon to New York, receives $9.90 a ton.

The rate on hides from Central America to Europe is $24 a

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ton. The Pacific Coast Steamship Company, from Central America to Panama, receives $8.40 a ton; the Panama Railroad Company, from Panama to Colon, receives $5.60 a ton; and the Panama Steamship line, from Colon to Europe, receives $10 a ton.

Result.—An American importer pays the Panama Railroad Company, owned and operated by the United States Government, $2.50 a ton more if from Central America, and pays the Pacific Coast Steamship Company $3.60 a ton more on hides than an English, French or German importer pays.

Distances.—Colon to New York, 1,981 miles; Colon to Liverpool, 4,682 miles; and Colon to Hamburg, 4,992 miles.

2. The rate on hides from Guayaquil to New York is $22.50 a ton. The Pacific Coast Steamship Company, from Guayaquil to Panama, receives $8.55 a ton; the Panama Railroad Company, from Panama to Colon, receives $6.28 a ton; and the Panama Steamship Company, from Colon to New York, receives $7.67 a ton.

The rate on hides from Guayaquil to Europe is $19.20 a ton. The Pacific Coast Steamship Company, from Guayaquil to Panama, receives $6.40 a ton; the Panama Railroad Company, from Panama to Colon, receives $4.80 a ton; and the Panama Steamship Line, from Colon to Europe, receives $8 a ton.

Result.—An American importer pays the Panama Railroad Company, owned and operated by the United States Government, $1.48 a ton more if from Guayaquil, and pays the Pacific Coast Steamship $2.15 a ton more on hides than an English, French or German importer pays.

So to-day we have the actual fact of foreign nations and foreign ships using our own property and our own facilities at less rates than we charge our own people. It was the publication of this fact that has led me to lay before the American public the details of my recent investigations. So many hundreds of letters have come from all parts of the United States asking for information with regard to these investigations as to the transportation conditions of the Panama Steamship Company and the Panama Railroad Company, and the development of the through transportation between the east and west coast of the United States and Central and South America *viâ* this route, that I give herewith the exact data.

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On December 17th, 1908, in an interview with the Hon. Luke Wright, Secretary of War, with regard to the transportation conditions, he suggested that I communicate with Mr. E. A. Drake, Vice-President and General Manager of the Panama Steamship Company and the Panama Railroad Company. This was followed by a meeting with Mr. Drake and a clear understanding with him that it was very desirable that some steps should be taken to develop the American business *viâ* the Panama Steamship Company and the Panama Railroad Company, and the understanding was had that it should be done with his co-operation and nothing would be undertaken unless this could be done.

This was followed by a meeting, arranged in Washington, the 27th of January, 1909, at which were present Secretary-of-War Wright; Mr. E. A. Drake; Mr. Rogers, counsel for the Panama Steamship Company and Panama Railroad Company; General Edwards; Captain Boggs; Hon. William R. Wheeler; and Mr. Bates, of the firm of Bates & Chesebrough, Steamship Agents of San Francisco. At this meeting was fully discussed a proposition made by Mr. Bates to put on a line of American steamers from San Francisco to Panama in connection with the Panama Railroad Company, and Secretary Wright agreed to make arrangements with Mr. Bates, which Mr. Drake and myself felt would not be desirable.

Secretary Wright requested me to formulate some plan by which American commerce could now be fully developed—*viâ* the Panama Railroad Company—with the idea of the future benefits to our American commerce by the construction of the Panama Canal.

On February 5th, 1909, I submitted to Secretary Wright a definite proposition for the building of fifteen steamships. I further agreed to use my very best efforts to have formed a company for the purpose of bidding upon a mail contract which was justified under the Act of Congress of March 3rd, 1891, providing for ocean mail service between the United States and foreign ports and to promote commerce. And further, that I would induce other interests to also bid upon a contract to be advertised for by the Post-Office Department and had secured promises from two interests to make bids.

The honorable Secretary of War was so impressed with the necessity and importance of developing this interest that he sug-

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gested, in the course of discussion, that I should endeavor to find out the views and opinions of the Pacific coast cities as to what volume of business could be expected and depended upon, and whether they would support the establishment of such a line. On the 14th of February, 1909, carrying out these suggestions, I left for Seattle. I met many of the merchants of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles and New Orleans and returned to Washington Monday, the 8th of March. The result of that visit to the Pacific coast was extremely satisfactory and terminated in the following action by the Associated Commercial Organizations of the Pacific coast:

"PORTLAND, OREGON, *March 22nd, 1909.*

"Hon. B. N. Baker, Baltimore, Maryland.

"MY DEAR SIR,—On last Friday there was a meeting at San Francisco of representatives from all cities of the Pacific coast, held in connection with rate matters generally.

"At this meeting the question of the extension of the Panama service was taken up, and a telegram, of which the following is a copy, was sent to the President, the Secretary of War, Pacific coast Senators and to Mr. Wheeler, who is now in Washington:

"'We, the undersigned representatives of the entire commercial interests of the Pacific coast in conference assembled, earnestly urge the Government to encourage the establishment of a private-owned line of steamships on the Pacific and Atlantic operated *viâ* Panama Railroad by extending all possible privileges and concessions. If no private line is established, we favor completion of the Government line by placing Government-operated steamships on the Pacific Ocean same as now operated on the Atlantic.

"'Transportation Bureau Chamber of Commerce of Seattle.
"'Traffic Association of Tacoma.
"'Transportation Committee Chamber of Commerce of Portland.
"'Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Sacramento.
"'Traffic Bureau of the Merchants Exchange of San Francisco.
"'Associated Jobbers of Los Angeles.'

"Yours very truly,
"(Signed) J. N. TEAL."

In reporting to Secretary Wright, he expressed himself as very highly pleased and saw no reason why something should not be done; but he told me that President Taft had selected Hon. J. M. Dickinson as Secretary of War, and he did not wish to take any action, in view of the short time he would remain, preferring to leave it to his successor.

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President Taft granted me an interview on March 24th, 1909. My understanding of that interview was that President Taft heartily approved of what had been done and desired that I see Secretary Dickinson and arrange with him to visit Panama and make a full investigation of conditions there as to the physical ability of the Panama Railroad Company during the construction of the canal to develop commerce by this route. I was very much encouraged. I met Secretary Dickinson and outlined to him what had been done with his predecessor, Mr. Wright, and he promised to look into it very fully. He also promised to notify me as to the date of his leaving for Panama.

On Wednesday, the 31st of March, 1909, the question was taken up with Assistant Postmaster-General Stewart as to whether or not a mail contract would be justified. Mr. Stewart stated that he saw no reason why the Post-Office Department would not be justified in advertising for mail proposals for fast American ships from New York and New Orleans to Colon, from San Francisco and Los Angeles to Panama; in the development of commerce he thought Portland and Seattle could also be arranged for.

The honorable Secretary of War notified me when he would be in Panama, and on Wednesday, the 14th of April, I left for Panama, where I spent ten days fully investigating conditions. I met the Secretary of War several times.

In a discussion with Colonel Goethals with regard to providing ample opportunity for developing business, the question was taken up as to the use of the Panama Railroad Company during the night hours for canal construction. Colonel Goethals said this would not be possible. There was a final discussion with Secretary Dickinson on May 31st at the Hotel Tivoli, Ancon. Secretary Dickinson concluded that he did not think it came within the province of the Secretary of War to develop commerce *viâ* the Panama Railroad Company, but that it was a matter which should be acted upon by Congress.

I was furnished every facility and opportunity in investigating fully the conditions and now give the actual table of the division of through revenue by the Panama route, showing the Atlantic Carriers' proportion of freight, the Panama Railroad Company's proportion and the Pacific Carriers' proportion in divisions:

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SHOWING THE DIVISION OF THROUGH REVENUE BY THE PANAMA ROUTE.

Item.	Between.		Atlantic Carrier. Per cent.	P. R. R. Per cent.	Pacific Carrier. Per cent.
1	Europe and	Panama.....	55	45	—
2	" "	Central America	41 2/3	23 1/3	35
3	" "	Mexico.....	37 1/2	25	37 1/2
4	" "	San Francisco..	35	24 3/8	40 5/8
5	" "	South Pacific...	41 2/3	25	33 1/3
6	New York "	Panama.....	55	45	—
7	" "	Central America	33	27	40
8	" "	Mexico.....	33	27	40
9	" "	San Francisco..	27 1/2	22 1/2	50
10	" "	Portland.....	21.3125	17.4375	61 1/4
11	" "	Seattle.....	21.3125	17.4375	61 1/4
12	" "	Los Angeles....	18.4286	15.0952	66.4762
13	" "	South Pacific...	34.1	27.9	38
14	New Orleans "	Panama.....	55	45	—
15	" "	Central America	33	27	40
16	" "	Mexico.....	33	27	40
17	" "	San Francisco..	—	—	—
18	" "	South Pacific...	34	28	38

N. B.—In the case of Item 12, the percentage varies according to the class of goods.

Any one interested can secure the rate and make the division. The result of these pro-rating arrangements has been in many cases a very decided discrimination against New York and New Orleans traffic *viâ* Panama in favor of European traffic by the same route. In addition to this, the Pacific carriers from Panama to the west coast of South and Central America have also discriminated in favor of foreign traffic.

After collecting these facts and reaching these conclusions, I immediately advised President Taft of what I considered important information and also laid the same before the Secretary of War for investigation.

Now, my object in publishing this is simply, if possible, to give full data to the coming session of Congress, as the honorable Secretary of War thinks Congress the one to provide the remedy for the present conditions. If the people of the United States consider it desirable to develop the commercial route *viâ* the Panama Railroad Company and, later on, the canal traffic, in the building up of their own commerce, they can do so. I wish to state that under no circumstances shall I have any interest, direct or indirect, in any benefits that might accrue.

Surely it must be plain to every one that in order to have full justification for the building of the Panama Canal and the expenditure of the hundreds of millions of dollars of the people,

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there must be a reasonable expectation of realizing the benefits in the development of our trade and commerce, in addition to the value of the canal to our Government for the protection of both coasts by a smaller navy. An easy way is open for the next Congress. It is to be found in the enlargement of the Act of March 3rd, 1891, of which the following is the enacting clause:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that the Postmaster-General is hereby authorized and empowered to enter into contracts for a term not less than five nor more than ten years in duration, with American citizens, for the carrying of mails on American steamships, between ports of the United States and such ports in foreign countries, the Dominion of Canada excepted, as in his judgment will best *subserve and promote the postal* and *commercial* interests of the United States, the mail service on such lines to be equitably distributed among the Atlantic, Mexican Gulf and Pacific ports. Said contracts shall be made with the lowest responsible bidder for the performance of said service of each route, and the Postmaster-General shall have the right to reject all bids not in his opinion reasonable for the attaining of the purposes named."

In my opinion, the most direct and most effective way to build up our Merchant Marine for the ocean trade and provide suitable vessels for use to our Navy and War Department, is for Congress to amend this Act of March 3rd, 1891, so that it will include a larger amount per ton per mile, and leave it discretionary with the Postmaster-General and the President of the United States to make such contracts as in their judgment will best accomplish the objects of the Act. Further provision should give the President authority to appoint a commission of three men with power of investigation, and in an advisory capacity only, one naval officer, one man from the east and one from the west coast, thoroughly familiar with maritime commercial needs. I believe that in the United States three experienced and exceptional men can be found with wide knowledge of commercial and maritime conditions. Furthermore, Congress could limit the amount that the President and the Postmaster-General could use under this Act.

To-day England is paying about $16,000,000 for mail contracts and encouragement to shipping. I know of a number, particularly the one recently granted to the Elder, Dempster West India Steamship Company, that were without justification as mail contracts, but which were most important for the development of commerce. To-day the United States is paying for its entire

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foreign mail service of every kind and description, including such things as the Panama Railroad, steamboat and railroad service and transfer in New York, about $3,000,000.

Three plans have been proposed to build up the Merchant Marine. That for free ships has made a failing fight for many years and seems further from success now than ever. Another plan is by discriminating duties. But how is this possible when on an enormous percentage of cargoes imported no duty is paid—when in some particulars this percentage amounts to as much as sixty-seven per cent. of the total cargo, and when we must face the certainty that it will increase with every change in the tariff? The other plan is the one I have suggested; and I have gathered much help from the discussions which I have had with a number of Senators and Representatives who have interposed no objections to its practicability.

Here, then, we have an acute situation demanding immediate attention; and more important than that, we have the national duty of beginning to erect a Merchant Marine that will be prepared to take advantage of the greatest investment which the nation has ever made. We must get away from the smug idea that we are sufficient unto ourselves between the shores of our great oceans. The time will come when we shall be importing foodstuffs from South America and seeking South-American markets as a necessary outlet for our manufactured products. Not many years ago we had hides in overabundance, and we shipped them to every country that would buy. And yet the hardest fight in the recent tariff debate was to get the duty off hides because this country had to import them for its factories. That change may come in most of the other staples, and we must prepare to take care of ourselves on sea as well as on land in whatever corner of the earth trade is to be found.

I have not thought it necessary to bring into this discussion the opportunities in the Far East, but they are none the less important, and their relation to the new canal adds other reasons why we should be up and doing in the work for providing for to-morrow.

B. N. BAKER.

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SENSATIONAL JOURNALISM AND THE REMEDY.

BY SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, LL.D., GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1903-07.

FROUDE wrote with much truth: "There is a long twilight between the time when a god is first suspected to be an idol and his final overthrow." All human institutions seem to follow a natural and almost invariable process of growth, ending in final decay. They originate in an effort to meet some pressing social need. If they are found to be adapted to the purpose, they have a period of development and elaboration. After the conditions which made them necessary have disappeared, they remain for a time, more or less extended, as pure conventions retained by habit, mental inertia and recognition of the good they have accomplished. Finally, like the broken pottery which the housewife bears aloft to the garret, they are cast aside as the cumbersome rubbish of the past. The button to which in the days of personal combats the sword of the gentleman was attached, remains on his coat only as the plaything of the tailor. The doctrine of the Liberty of the Press, though embedded in the Constitution of the United States and in the Constitutions of all of the States, is today, in its application to existing conditions of life, little more than a Shibboleth. We tingle mentally when we hear it reiterated in Fourth-of-July orations or in solemn editorials, just as a horse shies at a leaf because hundreds of generations of absence have not been sufficient to remove the nerve impression caused by the concealed tiger, but the substance which made it a living presence has departed. Logically there is no reason whatever why men should be more favored in their utterances than in their conduct. To touch another upon the shoulder, no matter how lightly, even with a silk glove, constitutes a trespass and an assault, for which

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the offender may be compelled to pay damages or to suffer punishment, though the actual harm inflicted is infinitesimal. On the other hand, the most severe attacks are made in the journals upon men, especially if they be engaged in the service of the public, often most injurious to their interests and reputations, sometimes entirely unfounded in fact, and it is rather expected of them by the community that they should submit in silence and accept the results as a matter of course. It has come to be considered almost as one of the risks of the game. The grounds for this remarkable distinction are found not in reason, but in history. There was a time when a King ruled with an assertion of divine right and exercised at his will all of the powers of the state. He opened and closed the doors of prison houses. At his nod the axe of the headsman fell on the neck of the victim. Before the French Revolution *lettres de cachet* were the subjects of barter and sale in Paris, as indulgences had been sold before the Reformation. It happened occasionally that men were sent to their deaths, as Uriah the Hittite was sent to the forefront of the battle, in order that their wives or their property might be seized. At that time the untrammelled liberty to publish event and comment was a safeguard to the community. To make public the occurrences in prisons, courts and palaces was often to aid in the protection of the innocent and to curb the propensities of the vicious. That condition of things has departed, never more to return. "He that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more," is as true of ways, customs and institutions as it is of man and was in the days of Job. Other wrongs will no doubt arise to be corrected, but never again that particular form of iniquity. The times have changed and we have changed with them. The Kings are dead or content to exist as "the first gentlemen of Europe," doing nothing more forceful than winning prizes at bridge whist, the priests no longer seek to punish heresy with fire, the Bastile has been torn down and the Tower of London and Le Steen at Antwerp have been converted into museums. The faults of present-day rulers are of an entirely different hue. So far from seeking to exercise arbitrary power, they are so eager to win the applause of the populace that they are prone, if they be bold, to become demagogues striving to get the benefit of every wind that blows, and, if they be timid, to become mere placeholders content if they can slide through their terms without

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reprobation. The public journal has likewise changed, but in the opposite direction. It is no longer the cautious and modest advocate of the truth, contending against entrenched power and needing encouragement. It has become bold, blatant and in some instances brazen. There was a time when its purposes were limited to gathering information of current events and publishing this information with comment intended to be guiding and instructive. With the growth of advertising the entire perspective has shifted. It is now generally published by a corporation organized as a business venture to secure a profit. It has a business policy, inspired by the hope of gain, toward which the editorial and even the news columns are required to bend. The directing forces are undisclosed, and it not infrequently happens that the same ambitious personality is the owner of journals advocating opposing views of public questions and policies.

The growth in the volume and the importance of the advertisements has led to the genesis of what is colloquially called the "Yellow Journal." Since the compensation from the accurate report of current news is very slight, and the returns from abundant advertisements are comparatively very great, the tendency has arisen and rapidly grown of so furbishing up the news as to make it a feeder to the more profitable feature of the paper. Head-lines, type of exaggerated size and gross pictures are all devices used for the purpose of catching the attention of the reader so that ultimately he may be led to purchase the wares of some merchant. Crimes of a startling character, scandals, especially if they affect people in good repute, divorces, especially if they occur among people of social prominence and are accompanied with uncleanly suggestion, and sensations of all kinds are sought with avidity from a like motive. Since that which is sensational loses its effect and fails as an attraction when often repeated, and since both the mind and the senses soon become accustomed to the same din, however loud it may be, there is a continual effort to find the strange, the abnormal, the *outré* and the wicked. Moreover, the line which divides finding from creating is presently passed. Just as the cook puts the mustard on the ham, so the newsmonger adds condiment to his dish of news which would be insipid if nothing but the truth were told. Or what is worse, the whole tale is invented by an enterprising person who is safe from observation and responsibility, and who is driven by necessity

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to the invention of something startling to meet the daily and increasing demands.

The harm done to the community by this tendency, which up to the present time has been almost unchecked and is affecting more or less all journalism, has been incalculable. When an unmarried young woman, whose parents happen to have wealth, cannot meet socially a scion of the European nobility without having their engagement announced and their portraits published over two continents, and thereafter cannot board a railroad train or a ship without a repetition of the story, and the added statement that she goes to seek her lover, journalistic standards of decency and propriety have fallen to the level of those of the fishwife.

The rude, vulgar and often malicious pictures put forth in the guise of wit and caricature are destroying the artistic sense, if not the kindly instincts, of a whole generation of young people, who are growing to maturity looking upon them as one of the ordinary incidents of life.

Suggestion is known by all who have any acquaintance with the principles of psychology to be one of the most potent causes for the commission of crime. There are numbers of people in the community who feel the temptation and approach the brink of crime who only need a slight incentive to convert the impulse into action. The man who killed the Duke of Buckingham happened to be passing a hardware store and saw displayed in a window a huge knife with keen edge. It was enough. He bought the knife and flayed the Duke. A man was once tried before me for attempted murder, who had been handed a cleaver in a butcher shop. He walked with it out to the step where stood an entire stranger with his back turned and struck him several blows over the head. Who, then, can measure the effect of daily placing before the masses of people the details of horrible crimes? Who can tell how many young girls are lured from the hard labor of the kitchen or mill to destruction by seeing the portraits and reading the tales of the luxurious lives of mistresses and courtesans in the public prints? Every extraordinary crime is at once followed by efforts of a like character, which fact proves that they were brought about by the publicity. The crime so much dreaded in the South does not exist in Jamaica where the proportion of negro population is very much greater. What is the reason for its frequency in the South? It is largely because the wide publica-

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tion of the event and of its aftermath of horrors is brought to the attention of every negro in the land, and he is taught to believe that in a sense to assault a woman is a race achievement. The great increase of divorces in the United States may be explained in the same way. When every day divorce suits, and the charges made, and the evidence given in them are set forth with huge head-lines on the front pages of the sensational journals, is it any wonder that young people are made familiar with the thought that marriage is a mere experiment and often act accordingly? In the cases of atrocious crimes and of public officials charged with breach of duty the courts are in effect superseded and the defendants either convicted or acquitted before they have been heard, since the alleged facts and the editorial conclusions are scattered broadcast without hesitation and without accuracy.

The sensational journal has succeeded in almost destroying the old-time confidence of the people in, and their respect for, those vested with authority. It used to be in England that even the county magistrates and constables were regarded as worthy of honor. It was a very desirable and proper condition of affairs helpful to the officials and beneficial to the community. The constable was more careful of his conduct because he knew that it was expected of him to abide within the law and because he had a certain dignity to maintain. At the present time in the United States the Mayors of our cities, the Governors of our commonwealths and the Presidents of the nation at once become the target for the sensation-monger; and the higher and more important the office, the more audacious are his efforts and the greater his hopes for reward. The courts alone have remained unassailed, and within the last few years the process of undermining their supports has begun. When public confidence in the integrity of the administration of affairs is destroyed the end of our system of government is not far away.

The most far-reaching evil inflicted by the sensational journal is that it perverts the processes of thought. All reasoning begins with the ascertainment of fact. If the false be presented and accepted as the true the inferences drawn are hopelessly erroneous. The people in arriving at their conclusions as to men and measures are dependent upon the newspapers for their information. It is not true that the world is made up of men with wickedness in their hearts, ready either to break their marital vows or to

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rob the treasury, and the daily pictures of life painted with such colors ought to be obliterated. On the contrary, men are almost exclusively earning their bread by their labor, supporting their wives and children as best they know how, and if perchance they have been chosen for public service, performing their duties according to the measure of their abilities.

The evils above described, universally conceded to exist, are certainly very grave, probably the most serious of all those with which society is at present contending. In the course of time and in the whirligig of events the press has come to be the most conspicuous example of the very wrong to correct which its privileges were conferred—that is, the secret use of arbitrary power. An institution is attacked in its interests, an individual is assailed in his character, and nobody knows whose is the hand which strikes the blow or what the motive which inspires it.

The "Public Ledger" of Philadelphia, one of the most reputable journals of the country, said in an official communication to the Governor of Pennsylvania, on the 26th of June, 1909:

> "We realize fully that the time was ripe for the law, by a rigid enforcement of its decrees, to punish the reckless and vituperative speech and writing which have been so prevalent in certain classes of American newspapers as to bring the whole profession into disrepute."

What is the remedy? There is little or nothing to be hoped from the efforts of those connected with the press who deprecate these tendencies. The current carries them along. The commercial interests are too strong. When degeneracy once sets in and proves to be temporarily profitable, each strives to outdo the other and things go from bad to worse. The slaveholders, no matter how disadvantageous they knew the system to be for the South, could do nothing to prevent its growth. Even the Church could not, when confronted with the Lutheran movement in the sixteenth century, correct its errors. Reformation must be sought from without and must be found. The press has done too much brilliant service to humanity in the past, has too many men of high intelligence associated with its work, and is too important for the interests of the race to be permitted to fall into moral decay. It is unphilosophical to attempt to apply the principles elaborated in the past to the changed conditions of the present. When a prosperous merchant purchases the journals of one of our principal cities in an effort to elect himself to the United States Senate, and

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another man of wealth purchases journals over the country in the hope of electing himself to the Presidency, and such are the interests they serve, the exceptional favor shown the press when it was making a struggle for the public weal is entirely out of place.

The remedy is very simple and plain. It is to subject the press to the same law and the same authority of the State which governs the other relations of men. It is for the people to cast aside what has become nothing but a superstition. It is for those in legislative, executive and judicial authority to have sufficient courage to meet every attempt at oppression or abuse of right, in utterance as well as deed, no matter whence it comes or how powerful those making it may have grown. If there may be inspection and supervision of boilers, engines, food-supplies, barbers' tools and the knowledge of a lawyer and of a doctor, there may likewise be supervision of that which is put forth as news to prevent it from being unwholesome. If working-men may be prevented by injunction from committing riot, so may newspapers be prevented by injunction from publishing falsehood and scandal. Such material has no part in the liberty of the press any more than sewerage has place in the streams. Both constitute nuisances which may be suppressed and in time will be suppressed. It is upon the principle of suppressing a nuisance that smut and filth are excluded from the mails and destroyed when they appear, although the Constitution protects the freedom of speech. There is no freedom to propagate and disseminate falsehood and vileness, and a large proportion of what appears daily in the journals could be excluded upon application to the courts. Suppression would result in loss of profit, and when scandal ceases to be profitable it will soon disappear. In Pennsylvania, that State which has so often been in the advance in the betterment of American life, a substantial step forward was taken in 1903. An Act was passed applying the principles of the law of negligence to newspapers, making them responsible for the want of ordinary care and requiring them to publish with each issue the names of owners, editors and managers. While with the advent of another Legislature and another administration four years later, the newspapers succeeded in having the Act in part repealed, it yet remains the law in that State that the names of those responsible for the publication must be disclosed.

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

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CUBA'S CLAIMS TO THE ISLE OF PINES.

BY GONZALO DE QUESADA, FORMER MINISTER OF CUBA TO THE UNITED STATES.

In the September issue of The North American Review and under the title "Have We mislaid a valuable Possession?" the Hon. Senator M. E. Clapp attempts to revive popular interest in a question which is a closed chapter, as far as the American Executive and the American people are concerned: the alleged title of the United States to the Isle of Pines.

Nevertheless, and as there is pending before the Senate a treaty in which the matter is finally settled, it is well that Cuba's side be presented before the public and the facts rehearsed on which Cuba has always based her title to this part of her territory and on which the Supreme Court, the highest tribunal in this country and one whose impartiality cannot be questioned, opined that the Isle of Pines is Cuba's.

Considering the question from its geographical, historical, political, administrative and international point of view, the Isle of Pines has always belonged to Cuba.

The geographical term Cuba, since the first maps were made, from 1492 to 1502, to date, has included the hundreds of surrounding islets, keys and archipelagoes, such as the Canarreos in which the Isle of Pines figures, and in no case the Isle of Pines has been considered other than a part of Cuba as much as Staten Island or Long Island is a part of New York State; the keys to the southwest of Florida, extensions of the mainland; Nantucket a portion of Massachusetts, and the Isle of Wight a part of England.

This assertion can be substantiated by the examination of all the maps of all epochs since its discovery, prepared by cartographers of all nationalities. Every text-book of geography

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used in the schools of this country also confirms the fact. The War Department of the United States, in its military maps, as well as those of the census taken under its direction in 1899, have the Isle of Pines as a part of Cuba, and the Navy Department in its charts and hydrographic publications has so considered it, as also the Treasury Department and the Department of Commerce and Labor in the publications of the United States Chart and Geodetic Survey.

There are almost one hundred maps in the Congressional library of Washington which contradict the statement of Senator Clapp that the Isle of Pines is not geographically a part of Cuba. These maps comprise official and private issues of Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Holland, Mexico, Italy and the United States and other countries, covering a period of over four centuries and at intervals of about five years, and all contain the Isle of Pines as belonging to the geographic entity of Cuba.

This geographical argument alone would bear out Cuba's contention. No less an authority than William Edward Hall, an English writer in his "International Law," said, in 1895, many years before the right of Cuba was discussed:

"The territorial property of a State consists in the territory occupied by the State community and subjected to its sovereignty, and it comprises the whole area, whether of land or water, included within the definite boundaries ascertained by occupation, prescription or treaty, together with such inhabited or uninhabited lands as are considered to have become attendant on the ascertained territory through occupation or accretion, and when such area abuts upon the sea, together with certain margin of water. . . .

"Apart from questions connected with the extent of territorial waters, which will be dealt with later, certain physical peculiarities of coasts in various parts of the world, where land impinges on the sea in an unusual manner, require to be noticed as affecting the territorial boundary. Off the coast of Florida, among the Bahamas, along the shores of Cuba, and in the Pacific, are to be found groups of numerous islands and islets rising out of vast banks, which are covered with very shoal water, and either form a line more or less parallel with land or compose systems of their own, in both cases enclosing considerable sheets of water, which are sometimes also shoal and sometimes relatively deep. The entrance to these interior bays or lagoons may be wide in breadth of surface water, but it is narrow in navigable water. To take a specific case.

"On the south coast of Cuba the Archipielago de los Canarios stretches from sixty to eighty miles from the mainland to la Isla de Pines. The

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length from the Jardines Bank to Cape Frances is over a hundred miles. It is enclosed partly by some islands, mainly by banks, which are always awash, but upon which, as the tides are very slight, the depth of water is at no time sufficient to permit of navigation; spaces along these banks, many miles in length, are unbroken by a single inlet; the water is uninterrupted, but access to the interior gulf or sea is impossible. At the western end there is a strait twenty miles or so in width, but not more than six miles of channel intervene between two banks, which rise to within seven or eight feet from the surface, and which do not, consequently, admit of the passage of seagoing vessels. In cases of this sort the question whether the interior waters are, or are not, lakes enclosed within the territory must always depend upon the depth upon the banks and the width of the entrances. Each must be judged upon its own merits. But in the instance cited, there can be little doubt that the whole Archipielago de los Canarios is a mere salt-water lake, and that the boundary of the land of Cuba runs along the exterior edge of the banks."

And the same general principles of international law applicable to such coasts and shores can be seen in Louisiana *vs.* Mississippi, 200 U. S., 1, 53; the Anna 5 C Reb. 273.

Against this overpowering evidence it is puerile to cite as a geographical argument the fact that in a land map of the United States of 1899 the Isle of Pines was placed by the Commissioner at the verbal direction of President McKinley, for it has never been claimed that there existed a written order.

From a historical, administrative and political point of view, the evidence as to Cuba's right to the Isle of Pines is equally conclusive. The history of the Isle of Pines is a chapter in the history of Cuba, and it so appears in every authoritative history that has ever been written from the earliest time to the present day. In the same way the political division of the Spanish Kingdom called "Cuba" has always included both the island which has the specific designation "Cuba" and the island which has the specific designation "Isle of Pines," as also the hundreds of adjacent islets and keys, each of which has its specific designation, like "Cayo Romano," "Cayo Coco" and "Jardines del Rey." This is evidenced by a long series of statutes, royal decrees, orders and dispositions of the Spanish Parliament and Throne in which authority and jurisdiction were expressly conferred upon the Government of Cuba over the Isle of Pines, and by the unvaried practice during four centuries of treating the Isle of Pines as a part of Cuba, showing that the assertion of Senator Clapp

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that in former times the Isle of Pines was not included in the Spanish administration of Cuba is entirely erroneous. At the time of the discovery of the Isle of Pines, in 1494, by Columbus, it was considered by the Indians themselves a part of the entity of Cuba, being the twelfth of the thirteen divisions and called "Camaraco," and when, in 1511, Diego Velazquez was appointed Lieutenant Governor his powers were "over Cuba and its dependent isles and keys." It has been a part of Havana during every one of its political administrative changes, beginning with 1511, when the whole island was but one province; in 1607 when the said Province of Havana was denominated "Western Department"; in 1827 when the Island of Cuba was divided into three departments—Eastern, Central and Western, Havana being designated by the last name; in 1850 when the Island of Cuba was again reduced to two departments—Eastern and Western, Havana being called by the second; and in 1879 when the island was divided into six provinces, as it exists to-day, and Havana province resumed its actual name.

The local Government of the Isle of Pines has always been subject to the jurisdiction of Havana; in 1765 when it was declared a "partido"—district—of Havana; in 1828 when it became "Colonia Reina Amalia" by royal decree; and in 1880 when it became an "ayuntamiento"—municipality—as it has continued to this day. Since 1855 it has been as to judicial administration—up to recently when, to facilitate transactions, a court was established in the Isle of Pines, but dependent on Havana—in the judicial district of Bejucal in the Province of Havana. As to the maritime, ecclesiastical, fiscal and military administrations, it has from the earliest date belonged to the same province. Since 1773 it has paid taxes to it in one form or another, and from 1765 it has been the object of governmental dispositions, decrees, etc., of the Captain-General of Cuba.

In every census of Cuba the Isle of Pines has been included, beginning with the first, dated 1774, and continuing with those of 1841, 1861 and 1887, and the inhabitants of the Isle of Pines went to the polls in all the elections held during the Spanish *régime,* under the electoral law for the Island of Cuba, in 1879, 1890 and 1898 when the so-called home-rule Government was decreed for Cuba; they also voted in the election for the Havana Provincial Council.

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In everybody's mind the Isle of Pines was associated with Cuba when the United States by joint resolution of April 19th, 1898, declared that the Cuban people were and of right ought to be free and independent. And these people of Cuba were the ones for which the patriots had fought and had promulgated two Constitutions—the one of Jimaguayu of September 16th, 1895, and the one of La Yaya of October 29th, 1897, both of which included in the territory of Cuba "the adjacent islands and keys."

The Act of April 25th, 1898, declaring war against Spain was for the purpose of compelling the relinquishment by Spain of its authority and government in Cuba—which government included the Isle of Pines—and the withdrawal of its forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, in which waters was the Isle of Pines.

On August 12th, 1898, there was signed at Washington a protocol of agreement for a basis for peace between the United States and Spain which provided:

"Article I. Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

"Article II. Spain will cede to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and also an island in the Ladrones to be selected by the United States."

This was followed by the Treaty of Peace ratified April 11th, 1899, containing the following articles:

"Article I. Spain relinquishes all claims of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

"And as the island is upon its evacuation to be occupied by the United States, the United States will, so long as such occupation shall last, assume and discharge the obligations that may, under international law, result from the fact of its occupation, for the protection of life and property.

"Article II. Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies and the Island of Guam in the Marianas or Ladrones."

By this treaty and the proceedings of which it was the result, the United States defended the interests of the people of Cuba, the principal one being to refuse to admit the island being saddled with the enormous so-called Cuban Debt, and as Judge Harlan put it in Neely *vs.* Henkel, U. S., 109 (Jan. 14th, 1901):

"It is true that as between Spain and the United States, indeed, as between the United States and all foreign nations, Cuba, upon the cessation of hostilities and after the Treaty of Paris, was to be treated

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as if it were conquered territory But as between the United States and Cuba that island is territory held in trust for the inhabitants of Cuba to whom it rightfully belongs and to whose exclusive control it will be surrendered when a stable government shall have been established by their voluntary action."

It is this relation of trustee that would have precluded the United States—even if it were not by the noble action of the American people which had given unstintedly its treasure and blood that Cuba might be free—from taking advantage, in transactions in which Cuba had no voice, of any *ex-parte* statement of any Spanish Commissioner. The only one adduced to support the claim that the Isle of Pines belongs to the United States is far-fetched and only shows the spiteful animus of Spain toward Cuba and was a contemptible innuendo hinting at duplicity in the motives of this great country; it is as follows:

"They—the United States—did claim sovereignty over the latter—Porto Rico—and over the other islands surrounding Cuba, which will render impossible the independence of the latter, without the good-will and gracious consent of the United States, which will always have it at their mercy through their control over the islands which enclose it like a band of iron."

This claim, on the part of the United States, is not on record, nor was the contention of the Spanish Commissioners ever admitted by the American representatives.

The cession of the islands in Article II, it is clear, does not refer to the Isle of Pines under Cuba's administration at the time and does refer to Vieques, Culebra and Mona islands adjacent to Porto Rico and which, being ceded to the United States, left Spain without an inch of territory in the Western Hemisphere.

The subsequent acts of the political department of the United States were in harmony with the fact that the Isle of Pines was comprised in the term "Cuba."

Neither under Major-General Brooke, who took possession, on January 1st, 1899, of the Government of Cuba, nor under General Leonard Wood, who succeeded him, until the Republic of Cuba was inaugurated on May 20th, 1902, were the "ayuntamientos," or municipalities, disturbed, and the Isle of Pines continued as theretofore as a subdivision of the Province of Havana. Major-General Fitzhugh Lee, in obedience to orders in 1899, made a

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visit of inspection to the Isle of Pines and found, as he stated in his official report, sixty Cuban insurgents under a captain there.

It was during 1899 that a few American speculators bought large parcels of land in the Isle of Pines and published glowing and exaggerated prospectuses with which they palmed off, at enormous profits, especially in the west, the divided tracts.

On August 14th, 1899, the Assistant Secretary of War, in answer to an inquiry, said, with what orders nobody knows, as he was subsequently disauthorized:

"The island was ceded by Spain and is, therefore, a part of our territory, although it is attached at present to the Division of Cuba for governmental purposes . . . and the disposition of public lands must await the action of Congress."

Yet three days after, on August 17th, 1899, President McKinley ordered a census of Cuba to be taken, and when the Island of Cuba was divided into enumeration districts the Isle of Pines was included in Cuba and three enumerators took its census. The Isle of Pines, in the official documents, was described as a municipal district of the judicial district of Bejucal, in the Province of Havana, and the Americans in the Isle knew all this and were enumerated.

In the report of the census, as published by the War Department in 1900, it is stated:

"The Government of Cuba has jurisdiction not only over the island of that name, but also over the Isle of Pines lying directly to the south of it and more than a thousand islets and reefs scattered along its northern and southern coasts."

On January 16th, 1900, an election was held throughout Cuba to elect municipal officers and the Isle of Pines elected theirs, and when on September 15th of the same year delegates were elected to the Constitutional Convention of Cuba the people of the Isle of Pines voted as a part of the Province of Havana, as it had heretofore done, and afterwards for Governor and Councillors of the said province; and when the Government was transferred to Cuba on May 20th, 1902, it was under the Cuban Constitution which included in its appendix the Platt amendment, adopted March 21st, 1901, which provided in Article VI:

"That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty."

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As a member of that convention and of the committee in charge of fixing the political relations between Cuba and the United States, I recollect that when the other provisos, afterwards included in the Platt amendment, were suggested nothing was said as to the Isle of Pines; but the general opposition shown by the Cuban people to the granting of coaling stations undoubtedly caused the matter of the Isle of Pines to be included, some believing, in the United States, that the Isle of Pines could be made the basis of defence for American interests in the Caribbean Sea, or that, if the Isle of Pines was found unsuitable—as it was afterwards shown to be—for coaling and naval purposes, it could be made the basis of negotiation for the acquisition of other sites.

On February 16th, 1903, the Senate of the United States requested the President to inform the Senate as to the then status of the Isle of Pines and what Government was exercising authority and control. President Roosevelt submitted a report from the Secretary of War, Mr. Root, with an endorsement of General Leonard Wood, late Military Governor of Cuba, dated February 20th, 1903, of which the following is a part:

"The Government of the island to-day is in the hands of its municipal officers, duly elected by the people, under the general control of the civil governor of the Province of Havana and the Republic of Cuba. As I understand it, the Government of the Isle of Pines is vested in the Republic of Cuba, pending such final action as may be taken by the United States and Cuba looking to the ultimate disposition of the island. No special action was taken to protect the interests of the citizens of the United States who have purchased property and have settled in the Isle of Pines, for the reason that no such action was necessary. All Americans in the island are living under exactly the same conditions as other foreigners, and if they comply with the laws in force, it is safe to say that they will not have any difficulty or need special protection. At the time these people purchased property, they understood distinctly that the question of ownership of the Isle of Pines was one pending settlement, and in locating there they took the risks incident to the situation."

On July 2nd, 1903, the Government of Cuba leased to the United States the areas of land and water for the establishment of naval and coaling stations in Guantanamo and Bahia Honda, and on that same date, and as a part of that same transaction, a treaty was signed by which the United States in Article I

"relinquishes in favor of the Republic of Cuba all claim of title to

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the Island of Pines situated in the Caribbean Sea near the southwestern part of the Island of Cuba, which has been or may be made in virtue of Articles I and II of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain, signed at Paris on the tenth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight."

And Article II states that:

"This relinquishment, on the part of the United States, of claim of title to the said Island of Pines is in consideration of the grants of coaling stations in the Island of Cuba heretofore made to the United States of America by the Republic of Cuba."

Had the Cuban Government doubted for a moment that the agreement of the lease would be ratified—as it was at Washington on October 6th, 1903—and the treaty of the Isle of Pines would fail of ratification, it would have cast the two documents into one, making the lease agreement dependent on the success of the treaty of the Isle of Pines.

The Hon. John Hay signed with me, on March 2nd, 1904, another treaty of identical tenor, in which the United States relinquished the claim of title to the Isle of Pines, modifying the previous treaty by making indefinite the time of the exchange of ratifications, which, being definitely fixed in the previous convention, had been the cause of its expiring by limitation. It stands to reason that if the United States does not ratify the treaty it should give back the coaling stations to Cuba.

On November 27th, 1905, the Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State, who had repudiated the action of the Assistant Secretary of War as having been done without his knowledge, replied in part to the president of the American Club of the Isle of Pines:

"The island is lawfully subject to the control and government of the Republic of Cuba, and you and your associates are bound to render obedience to the laws of that country so long as you remain in the island. If you fail in that obedience, you will be justly liable to prosecution in the Cuban courts and to such punishment as may be provided by the laws of Cuba for such offences as you commit. You are not likely to have any greater power in the future. The treaty now pending before the Senate, if approved by that body, will relinquish all claim of the United States to the Isle of Pines. In my judgment the United States has no substantial claim to the Isle of Pines. The treaty merely accords to Cuba what is hers in accordance with international law and justice.

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"At the time of the Treaty of Peace, which ended the war between the United States and Spain, the Isle of Pines was, and had been for several centuries, a part of Cuba. I have no doubt whatever that it continues to be a part of Cuba, and that it is not and never has been territory of the United States. This is the view with which President Roosevelt authorized the pending treaty, and Mr. Hay signed it, and I expect to urge its confirmation. Nor would the rejection of the pending treaty put an end to the control of Cuba over the island. A treaty directly contrary to the one now pending would be necessary to do that, and there is not the slightest prospect of such a treaty being made. You may be quite sure that Cuba will never consent to give up the Isle of Pines, and that the United States will never try to compel her to give it up against her will."

The treaty was favorably brought to the consideration of the Senate on February 1st, 1906, by Senator Foraker from the Committee of Foreign Relations with an exhaustive and conclusive report; Senators Morgan and W. A. Clark, submitting a minority one against its ratification. It has not yet been voted upon. In the mean while, on April 8th, 1907, the United States Supreme Court decided the case of Pearcy *vs.* Stranahan. Plaintiff brought his action in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York against the then Collector of the Port of New York to recover the value of certain cigars seized by him which had been brought to that port from the Isle of Pines, where they had been produced and manufactured. This seizure was made under the Dingley Act and the regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury thereunder. The Dingley Act provided for the imposition of duties "on articles imported from foreign countries," and in plaintiff's complaint it was asserted that the Isle of Pines was "in possession of and part of the United States" and hence domestic territory. The Government demurred, and the demurrer was sustained, the complaint dismissed and the case brought to the Supreme Court on a writ of error.

In the course of the opinion delivered by Justice Fuller, of which no mention was made by Senator Clapp in his article, the learned court took the ground that the Isle of Pines was foreign territory and declared that when the United States intervened in Cuba "all the world knew that the Isle of Pines was an integral part of Cuba," many of the uncontrovertible facts which have been brought out in this article being quoted to support the arguments in the lucid and just decision.

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The Government of Cuba has done more than it was expected in favor of the inhabitants of the Isle of Pines, and in proportion to the taxes collected, the amount of expenditures for roads, schools and other improvements is extraordinary and no other section of Cuba has been, in comparison, so well favored. This periodical agitation of some investors in the lands of the Isle of Pines is to be deplored for the sake of the excellent relations which have been, and are, maintained between the United States and Cuba. These interests attempted before to bring about a settlement of their pretensions by having the Cuban Republic buy their holdings at fancy prices and to devote the lands to public purposes, using the non-ratification of the treaty as a club; but Cuba has confidence in the honesty and good faith of the Senate of this country, and that when such able men as Senator Clapp will give the Cuban side a fair hearing they will bring the matter to an end by doing the proper thing towards Cuba, which is the ratification of the treaty recognizing her rights so forcibly maintained by American statesmen. The one who to-day directs the affairs of this nation, President Taft, while in Havana as Provisional Governor, said in 1906 that it would be "absolutely impossible for the Provisional Government to recognize for one moment that the Isle of Pines is not completely under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government as a part of the Republic of Cuba," and added that any separation of Cuba and the Isle of Pines "would be a violation of a sacred trust."

American public opinion and fair play will be Cuba's best champions, and the sacred trust will not be violated. The Isle of Pines has been, is and will be Cuba's.

GONZALO DE QUESADA.

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THE AMERICAN "TRAMP" QUESTION AND THE OLD ENGLISH VAGRANCY LAWS.

BY BRAM STOKER.

THE "Tramp" question is eternal. No age or country has been able to solve it satisfactorily, for the idle of each age and nation more or less adapt themselves to surrounding conditions. At the very start the matter requires differentiation: to separate those who are by nature idle from those who are poor by circumstance. It may be of some service to compare, with regard to this matter, the circumstances of England before and up to three centuries ago with those existing to-day in the United States of America. Up to the middle of the sixteenth century rural England was very much in the same circumstances as rural America to-day. We must, of course, leave out the facilities of movement, which are very different; but this latter advantage is largely in favor of the vagabond. According to Froude, the population of England was in the middle of the sixteenth century somewhere about a million persons. In this he probably underestimated to a great degree, but his statement will serve as an illustration; the figures really do not matter. The population was scattered largely amongst little villages and hamlets; of these many were mere clusters or groups of small houses far apart from similar congeries, and were cut off from one another by dense forests and imperfect roads. There was in the country no police force as we understand it now; but little, if any, organized local protection. Such protection as nominally existed was in the King or the great nobles who up to Wolsey's time held courts of their own and, under feudal tenure, controlled troops. The change of Sumptuary laws made by Wolsey, for the purpose of furthering trade and in order to bring the nobles round the King, had the effect of enlarging the groups of houses from villages to towns and cities.

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Up to that time the Sumptuary laws were prohibitive and repressive: what individuals and classes might *not* do or wear, rather than helpful to trade and manufacture; but under his clever statesmanship—exercised mainly on behalf of the King—the nature of these laws changed and trade and manufactures increased. But for a long, long time villages and towns were practically far apart; and in the wide spaces between the smaller communities were still under the old conditions.

Whilst this state of things existed, it was vitally necessary that wandering persons — who being without home were not easily made responsible—should be under some overt restraint, or at any rate, suspicion. The very word finally applied to such persons in the Acts of Parliament is in itself illuminative.

The first Vagrant statute recorded is that in the XXIII year of Edward III (1349). It runs as follows:

"Item because that many valiaunt beggers, as longe as thei maie live of begginge, do refuse to labour, gevinge them selfe to idlenes and vice, and sometyme to thefte and other abominations: None upon the saide peine of imprisonmente shall, under the colour of pitee or almes geve any thinge to suche, which maie labour, or presume to favour them towards their desyres, so that therby thei maie be compelled to labour for their necessary lyvinge. Wherfore our saide Soveraine lorde the Kynge, the xiii daie of June, the xxiii yere of his reigne, hath commanded to all the shiryffes of Englande by divers writtes, that thei shall do openly to be proclaimed and holden, all and singular the premisses in the counties, boroughs, marchaunt townes, sea portes, and other places in their bailywekes, where to them shall seme expedient: And that thei do therof due execucion, as afore is saide."

This Statute XXIII Edward III was called the "Statute of Laborers" and was ordained to enforce the necessary labor required, "because a great part of the people, and especially of workemen and servauntes late died in pestilence." In this condition of things those remaining often refused to work except at wages unknown in those ages of political economy. In fact, the whole purpose was directly to insure a sufficiency of labor, or, at any rate, to secure such as existed. By means of the carrying out of the statute there would be a sort of registry of labor —certainly of the rebellious side of it. Its practical force was to bind every worker to his own town or tything.

In the next session of Parliament XXV Edward III this Statute was re-enacted, but with greater detail.

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This purpose was still further maintained in a later Act—XXXIV Edward III, Cap. 1—wherein power was given to arrest and imprison laborers unwilling to work as well as all guilty or even suspected persons and such Englishmen as "have been pillours and robbers in the partyes beyond the sea; and be nowe come agayne and goeth wanderynge and will not labour as they were wonte in times past."

Herein we get an idea of the cause for such rigid enactments regarding "vagrom men"—to use Dogberry's phrase. Small communities were at times easily terrorized. The cities and towns had sheriffs and bailiffs and constables; but villages having no such official force at command could be easily "held up" by a few men with cross-bows. There had, indeed, been cases on the Continent of Europe where towns had been attacked and sacked by masses of disbanded soldiery. Indeed, wanderers of every kind were harmful; for very often they were thieves or "roberdsmen" or "drawlatches"; and even if they did not commit heinous crimes they were a source of uneasiness and possible loss.

As yet in the history of British legislation, Parliament had only taken note of beggars and rebels against work at statute wage; but in the seventh year of the reign of Richard II an Act (Cap. 5) was passed in which amongst other things is the following:

"And morcover it is ordayned and assented to refrayn the malyce of dyvers people, faytours and wandrynge from place to place reumynge in the countrey more habundauntlie than they were wonte in tymes paste, that from hence forth the Justices of Assyses in theyre cessyons the Justices of peace and the shyriffes in every countie shall have power to enquyre of all suche vacabundes and faytours and of theyre offences, and upon them to do that the lawe demaundeth. And that as well the iustices and shyryffes, as the mayres, baylyffes, constables and other governours of townes and places where such faytours and vacabundes shall come, shall from henceforthe have power to examyne them diligently and compell them to fynde suretye of theyr good bearynge by sufficyent mainpernours, of such as be distreynable, if any defaulte be founde in suche faytours and vacabundes. And if they can not fynde suche suretye they shall be sent to the next iayle, there to abyde tyll the Commynge of the iustices assygned for the deliverance of the iayles, who in suche case shal have power to do upon such faytours and vacabundes so imprysoned that that thereof to them best shall seme by the lawe."

In the above enactment the word "vacabunde" is mentioned for the first time. It is taken from the French through the

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low Latin word *vagari*—to wander; wandering beyond bounds. The previous enactments had compelled every man to remain in his own place; this one made the wandering itself from it an offence. We shall see how as time went on this was modified or intensified.

Five years later, by XII Richard II, Cap. 7, the rule against wandering was made more severe.

"Item it is accorded and assented, that of every persone that goeth begging, and is able to serve or labour, it shal be doen of him, as of him that departeth out of the Hundred, and other places aforesaid, without letter, testimonial, as afore is said, excepte people of Religion and Heremites, having letters testimoniall of their ordinaries, and that the beggars impotet [impoteut] to serve, shall abide in the cities and tounes, where they bee dwelling at the time of the proclamacion of this statute, and if the people of Cities or tounes, will not, or maie not suffice to finde theim: that then the saied beggars shall drawe them to other tounes within the Hundredes, Rape, or Wapentake, or to the tounes where thei were borne, within XL daies after the proclamacion made, and there shall continually abide, durying their lives, and that of all them that go in pilgrimage as beggars, and be able to travaille, it shall be doen as if the said servauntes and labourers, if thei have no letters testimoniall of their pilgrimage, under the saied seales. And that the scolers of the Universities that go so begging, have letters testimoniall of their Chaunceler, upon the same pein."

The Act XI Henry VII, Cap. 2, is intended to be merciful and to spare undue cost to the public. By it "vacaboundes," instead of being put in jail, are to be given several chances of reformation:

"that the shyryffes, mayres, bayliffes, highe constables, and pety constables, and all other officers of cities, boroughes townes, townshyppes, vyllages and other places, within three daies after this Act proclaymed, make due serche, and take or cause to be taken all such vacaboundes ydle and suspecte persones, lyvyng suspiciously, and them so taken to set in stockes, there to remayne by the space of thre daies and thre nightes and there to have none other sustenance but breade and water. And after the saide thre daies and thre nightes, to be had out and set at large, and then to be commaunded to avoide the towne. If the misdoer 'eftsones' be taken in 'suche defaute in the same town or township he is to be set in the stocks for six days on the same diet; and every one giving him meat or drink or favouring in his misdoing is to be fined in each time to pay a penalty of twelve pence.'"

And also it is ordained by the same authorities that:

"al maner of begers, not able to work, within six wekes next after the proclamacion of this act, go, rest, and abide in that hundred where last he dwelled, or there where he is best knowen or borne there

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to remaine and abyde without beggyne out of the saide hundred, upon peine to be punished as is aforesaide."

Then it goes on that no man is to be excused by being a "clerke of one universitee or the other," unless he show letters from the Chancellor of that University; nor is one calling himself a soldier, shipman or travelling man unless he bring a letter from his captain or from the town where he landed "and that he then to be commanded to go the straight high waie into his countrey." If any sheriff or other officer omit to discharge this duty with regard to strangers he is to be fined for each case twenty pence. This regulation is protected by giving the Lord of the Manor or the Alderman of the ward a personal interest in such fines and to secure his reward by distraint. The last clause of the Act runs:

"Provided alwaie that diminucion of punishment of vacaboundes and beggers aforesaide, may and shall be had for women great with chylde, and men and women in extreme sicknes, by him that hath auctoritee to doe the sayde punishmentes, this acte notwithstandynge."

By an Act of eight years later (XIX Henry VII, Cap. 12) the severity of punishment for first offence in vagabondage was reduced to one day and night in the stocks on bread and water; and for a second offence to three days and nights of similar durance. The same penalties are to be enforced on officers neglecting their duties under this Act as in the earlier enactment.

In the first year of Edward VI an Act (I Edward VI, Cap. 3) was passed repealing all former Acts relating to vagabonds. This Act was in turn repealed by another passed in the third year of the same King (III Edward VI, Cap. 16). In the same year another similar Act was passed which was in turn repealed by XIV Elizabeth, Cap. 5. There were other temporary Acts of the time of Edward VI, Queen Mary and Philip and Mary; also Acts I Elizabeth, Cap. 19, and V Elizabeth, Cap. 19. All of these were repealed by XIV Elizabeth, Cap. 5, which was the most elaborate and comprehensive Vagabond Act passed by the British Parliament up to that time, 1572.

This Act of 1572 is much too long to quote, but a survey of its provisions can be interesting. The preamble gives the necessity of its enactment:

"Whereas the parts of this realme of England and Wales be presentlie with roges, vagabonds, and sturdie beggers, exceedinglie pestred,

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by meanes whereof daylie happen murders, thefts, and other great outrages, to the high displeasure of Almightie God, and to the great annoy of the common wealth," etc.

Then came the provisions. All persons above the age of fourteen who were in the class of "roges, vagabonds or sturdie beggers" caught begging, vagrant or misordering themselves were to be put in prison and kept there without bail till the next coming sessions. Such persons, being convicted, "he or she shal be adiudged to be grievouslie whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right eare, with a hot yron of the compasse of an inch about, manifested his or her rogish kind of life, and his or her punishment received for the same, whereof entrie shall bee made of records by the clerke of the peace in the same shire, in the recordes of the same sessions, which iudgement shal also presentlie be executed, except some honest person" (here is stated the property qualification of such) "will of his charitie be contented to take such offendour . . . into his service for one whole yeere." Such employer is to be under recognizance to carry out the obligation thus undertaken. And if such offender abscond before the year is out he or she "shall be whipped and burnt thorow the gristle of the right eare with a hot yron, as is aforesaide." Fourteen days' grace are to be allowed to the offender if sanctioned by two justices. Then if the offender fall again within three weeks into the same way of life if he or she be of or over eighteen years of age shall be adjudged a felon and suffer the penalties of such unless some honest person give recognizance (of double the former amount) to keep him or her in his service for two whole years. If the person thus taking service abscond a second time, then "such roge or vagabond shall be taken, adiuged and deemed as a felon in all respectes, and shall in all degrees have, suffer and forfeite as a felon, without allowance or benefite of clergie or sancturie."

"And if such roge or vagabond after fortie dayes next after he or she shall be two severall times taken into service as is aforesaide, doe either in the sayde Countie, or else where eftsoones the third time fall againe to a kinde of rogish or vagabond trade of life: that then such roge or vagabond shall be adiudged and deemed for a felon, and suffer the paynes of death, and losse of landes and goods as a felon, without allowance or benefite of clergie or sanctuarie."

The stringency of this Act is fortified by laying heavy penalties on any person harboring or aiding a rogue or vagabond

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"marked or not marked" travelling without a license from the justices; and by heavily punishing negligent constables.

There are in the Act some clauses of thoughtful benevolence. Certain travelling persons, shipmen, soldiers having licenses, are exempt. So also the following: "any cockers or harvest folks . . . either corne harvest, or hay harvest, if they do worke and labour accordinglie, neither yet to any that happeneth to be robbed or spoyled by ye way"; nor serving-men turned away or who have lost master or mistress by death. The Lord Chancellor's license is to go everywhere. Young persons under the age of fourteen are exempt from all consequences—except whipping or stocking—as by former Acts. Hospitals are empowered to harbor and help aged and impotent persons. Certain "abyding places" are to be appointed locally in every shire, etc., in which the poor are to live and be provided for; but any poor person refusing to live in such place is to be deemed a rogue for the first refusal, and for the second to "suffer as a roge or vagabond in the last degree of punishment set forth by this acte in all points." The same punishment is to be meted to "aged and impotent persons, not being so diseased lame or impotent, but that they may worke in some manner of worke" who refuse to do such work as the overseers appoint them to.

There is a special clause to the effect that in case of "any begger's childe," being above the age of five years and under fourteen years, being male or female, "who may be liked of by any subject of this realme of honest calling," such may be taken by them into service. This must be done under bond, and the master is bound to keep them till a stated age—twenty-four in the case of a male and eighteen in the case of a female.

This statute was the mother statute of many vagabond Acts or portions of Acts which lasted down to 1822 and became in certain ways the guiding legislation in the establishment of poors' houses and reformatories. Of course as time went on and social conditions changed the provisions had to be altered. As towns multiplied, bringing more constant and easier communication from place to place, the mere fact of being an unlicensed traveller ceased to be in itself an offence. In a populous country with much trade and many manufactures and industries it would be quite impossible to "keep tab" of all vagrants. But till this day those who will not work are practically regarded as a more

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or less dangerous class. Indeed, the passing of the "habitual criminals" Act has a common basis. When certain persons—or classes of persons—are manifestly dangerous to more peaceful and better-ordered classes of communities it is the essence of good government — indeed, a necessary duty to responsible officials—to keep them in restraint, or certainly under observation. In both civil and rural communities they are dangerous; in America as in England; to-day as well as in the time of "Good Queen Bess." In cities they are practically rogues; in the country vagabonds and sturdy beggars, whose presence is attended with fear if not with danger.

"It is the germ of the future which we seek in the past"—to use the luminous phrase of Victor Cousin. Why not apply this historical lesson to existing conditions? The reign of Queen Elizabeth was an enlightened time; and benevolent and tolerant ideas did not lack. If then the statesmen of that expansive and formative period found it necessary to rule tramps with so heavy a hand that cumulative penalties beginning with "ear-marking"—which was the name applied to the branding in the ear—and ending with the extremest possible punishment, death, were ordained, why might it not be wise to adopt some drastic measure, though one necessarily more in accord with the humanitarian development of three centuries? If it was found necessary in the earlier period to put on the ill-doer some mark of which he could not divest himself, why should we not repeat the custom in some fashion in accord with the spirit of the times? If it was then found necessary to keep tramps within districts where they were personally known to officials, why not now keep them within certain bounds? If it was worth while then to try to break them in to the practice or habit of labor, why not repeat the benevolent enterprise?

For it is necessary to accustom the long-idle to labor by gentle exercise. The muscles, almost atrophied by disuse, cannot all at once either adapt themselves to or continue in strenuous work. I remember some years ago making a round of the police "shelters" in New York; those most thoughtful refuges for the not, or not-yet, criminal poor. Two rooms, one for either sex; well warmed and furnished, with only plank beds and a can of cold water and tin cup. The weather was dreadfully cold, and that night the various shelters must have saved many lives. In one

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station the kind-hearted old sergeant of police took me into both rooms. It was a lesson to remember. In either room were as many persons as could find resting-place. Almost all of them had taken off all their poor rags, which they had hung to dry on lines stretched from wall to wall overhead. The smell of them was noisome. I had been talking to the sergeant of the possibility of reforming tramps and getting them to work. In the men's room he said to me:

"That will bear out what I told you, sir. Look at that man's muscles. He *can't* work. Not all at once, at any rate. His legs are all right, for he uses them. But mind his arms! Why, they're like those of a child of twelve. It would take him a couple of months, beginning easy, before he could use a spade, or chop wood!"

He was quite right. The man's arms were almost of skeleton leanness; and there was no rigor in the muscles at any moment.

In England the corresponding class to the American tramp is that of the "bone-idle" who live nearly all their lives in the so-called workhouses. These men never work. When they are brought to book for refusing to work they go to gaol.

The time is fast coming when something *must* be done regarding the wilfully-idle class. Already in Germany if they refuse to work they must starve. The result is that they work enough to keep them from the latter alternative. In England the working-classes are beginning to lose patience with the idle. The feeling has become more or less acute, now that a system of old-age pensions has come over the horizon. Naturally enough, the workers and earners are not satisfied with a scheme of pensioning at a certain age all who require it. They say that it is not fair that they who have lived honestly and worked hard—and in so doing have helped to gather the money required for the scheme of pensions—should be treated in the same way as the habitually-idle. Or they put it in a more reasonable form that the habitually-idle should not be given the same consideration as those habitually-industrious.

In America the class of "tramp" is a perpetual menace; and that not merely to individuals. The lesson of the "Coxey" army of tramps who gathered in thousands and made their way to Washington should not be forgotten. As they took their way the public on the route were so fearful of some excesses being committed that they bribed them with food and help to pass on from

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their own district. It was just such armies, only better equipped and trained to arms, which made the vagabond Acts from Edward III down a necessity of British Government.

How, then, could this historical lesson be applied?

If the "tramp" of the twentieth century be so dangerous, or at best a source of fear or embarrassment—as was the "Roge" or "Vagabond" or "Sturdie Beger" of the sixteenth; and as he was in the former age treated in such a way as to minimize his harmfulness, why not repeat the treatment, suitably altered to meet the new conditions! As ear-marking with a "hot yron" be treatment of a drastic quality not acceptable to a less rude age, surely the resources of science are equal to some method of personal marking of an indelible quality. This step achieved, all idle persons, wandering and obviously undesirable to any ordinary intelligence, might in the first instance be arrested and tested as to the existence of modern ear-marking. If unable to show license or to account for themselves in any reasonable way they might be sent to a Labor Colony set far away in the heart of some fastness, there to be detained for a sufficient time to learn to be industrious in some form, and to have their physique brought by degrees up to the standard requisite for such work. It could be made apparent that there was no spirit of unkindness in such precautionary, and ultimately benevolent, doing.

The first relegation might be for a year; after which the reorganized tramp could, if considered to be physically suitable, allowed to go free. Such would be in the routine of the old law. If a second time he were sent back to the labor colony he should have to pass two years in the service—again fulfilling the old conditions. By this time it would be known and proved whether he was simply a loafer or one who wished to do well. He had had his two chances and he could ask no more. The third period of duress would match the last stage in this eventful history. In this age we do not, and could not kill, because of mere idleness. But the offender could be given a life sentence. In England a life sentence really means twenty years. At the expiration of such times, if reformation were possible, it would be seriously undertaken now. If the intention of reform were not now apparent he could remain where he was—not dangerous, even if inefficient.

BRAM STOKER.

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THE RELATIONS OF STATE AND FEDERAL FINANCE.

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THE existence of several concurrent or overlapping tax jurisdictions has always been a source of more or less difficulty. It is especially, however, in federal states that the problem assumes its most acute form, and it is primarily in recent years that the complications have been vastly increased by the new developments of economic life. The problem is not peculiar to the United States, for the relations of local and imperial finance have long agitated the minds and taxed the abilities of British statesmen; while in federal states like Germany, Switzerland, Canada and Australia we have, as in the United States, the threefold complications of local, state and federal fiscal adjustments. The problems are with slight variations everywhere analogous.

In the United States it is only of late that the difficulties have presented themselves in full force. Local expenditures were at first of slight importance; State revenues were derived from tacking on an addition to the well-nigh sole source of local revenue—the general property tax; Federal revenues were by constitutional arrangement and by well-settled custom restricted, as a rule, to import duties and to a few categories of internal revenue taxation. Of late years, however, a threefold change has occurred. In the first place, the growing inadequacy of State and local revenues has led to the selection of new sources of income, some of which were also occasionally utilized by the Federal government. Secondly, the vast economic changes which have broken down State lines and made industry national have disclosed to a great degree the inherent weaknesses of certain forms of State taxation, and have led to the demand for some method of national

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supervision or regulation in order to secure uniformity. In the third place, the well-nigh complete failure of the general property tax in State and local finance and the growing belief that large fortunes are evading their share of the public burdens has engendered a wide-spread demand for some more effective method of reaching the wealthier classes of the community. These three causes have conspired to bring the subject of the relations of State and Federal finance to a focus, so that it is now in the forefront of popular interest.

It behooves us, therefore, to give careful attention to this topic, and to endeavor to ascertain whether there do not exist some underlying principles of wide-spread application which may serve as a guide to the legislator and the administrator.

Looking at the subject in its largest aspect, it may be stated that there are at least three general considerations which must be borne in mind in the attempt to make a permanent choice of revenues for each of the competing tax jurisdictions. These are, respectively, the considerations of efficiency, of suitability and of adequacy. Let us take these up in turn.

The problem of efficiency in taxation is naturally of vital importance. No matter how well intentioned a scheme may be, or how completely it may harmonize with the abstract principles of justice, if the tax does not work administratively it is doomed to failure. It is clear that the effectiveness of different taxes depends upon the nature of the tax as well as upon the character of the administration. A tax on land, for instance, is apt to be best administered by local authorities; for it is, after all, the local assessors who may be presumed to possess the most exact knowledge of the local conditions upon which the value of the land depends. State supervision may, indeed, be desirable for certain purposes, but into that question we do not propose here to enter. In the main a locally administered land tax will be relatively efficient.

Other taxes are less obviously local in character or are less well fitted for local assessment because of administrative difficulties. A good example, for instance, is to be found in the liquor-license tax known in New York as the Excise Tax. When the assessment of the tax was transferred a few years ago from local to State officials, the effectiveness of the administration was so enhanced as vastly to increase the revenue. The administration was

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removed from local politics, but was not plunged into State politics. Centralization of administration here, as in many other domains of political life, has been found to approve itself to the popular mind.

Just as the State-administered revenues have been found in some cases to be superior to locally administered revenues, it may be expected that Federally administered revenues will in some cases be superior to State-administered revenues. For not only is the Federal administration in some respects superior in efficiency to that of the State, but the very character of the tax may render effective supervision far easier in the one case than in the other. The administration of the income tax, for instance, would undoubtedly be far more effective in the hands of the Federal government than in those of the State government because of the difficulty, as we shall see, of localizing and adequately controlling incomes. Other instances of this distinction between administrative efficiency and inefficiency might be multiplied.

The second consideration is that of suitability. Are there any sources of revenue which are naturally more suitable for utilization by one tax jurisdiction rather than another? This is really a problem as to the basis of taxation. Is the basis of a given tax wide or narrow? Obviously in proportion as the basis of a tax is more and more extended the argument in favor of its utilization by the broader tax jurisdiction becomes correspondingly strong. Thus one of the principal reasons, in addition to that previously mentioned, why the tax on real estate is not employed by the central government is because the basis is so narrow a one. It is chiefly because the tax on real estate is unsuitable for the general revenue system that it is everywhere becoming more and more relegated to the local jurisdictions. This tendency is universal throughout the civilized world, and the seeming counter-tendencies which are illustrated by some of the proposals in the new British budget could easily be explained away for entirely different reasons. So far as the relations between State and Federal finance at all events are concerned, there is no doubt that a tax on real estate is obviously unfitted for the Federal government. We in the United States have had but three instances of such a tax, of an entirely ephemeral nature, and in the main so unsuccessful that its repetition is exceedingly doubtful.

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While real estate, with its narrow basis, stands at one extreme of the scale, we find at the other extreme, with a very wide basis, articles of general consumption. The widest possible basis is afforded by commodities of so-called mass consumption, like tobacco and spirituous beverages; and we accordingly find that in the United States, as everywhere else, taxes on these commodities are reserved for the use of the broadest tax jurisdiction. Almost without exception the American States have voluntarily refrained from utilizing this source of revenue because of the obvious unsuitableness of these taxes on consumption for State purposes. The same is true to a still greater extent of customs duties, which are almost everywhere kept for national or Federal use. So strongly were these conditions of suitability present in the minds of our forefathers that the American Constitution not only expressly reserves the employment of import duties to the Federal government, but provides in effect that the indirect tax should be uniform throughout the country. It is clear that this desirable uniformity would be completely lost if the separate States were to arrogate to themselves this important source of revenue.

The problem of suitability, however, with its considerations of wide *versus* narow basis, has become of special importance to us in connection with three great classes of revenue—the corporation tax, the inheritance tax and the income tax. In each of these cases various reasons, as we shall see, have conjoined to put them forward as desirable constituents of a Federal tax system; but it is beyond question that one of the controlling factors in this demand is the proven unsuitability, from some essential points of view at least, of this tax for State purposes. This is due, above all, to the existence of interstate complications and to the fact that the economic basis of each of these three taxes is a wide one, while the State administrative basis is a narrow one.

With reference to corporations this statement scarcely needs any further proof. There are, indeed, still to be found many small businesses in corporate form supplying primarily local needs. But the striking characteristic of modern business life is the existence of corporations whose products are consumed throughout the country and whose very location, as in the case of the transportation companies, is interstate in character. From the economic point of view, interstate lines have been completely broken down, and the attempt to elaborate a successful system

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of State taxes on corporations has been frustrated in large measure by the existence of these interstate complications. It is well known, for instance, that the new national tax on corporations is due almost exclusively to the endeavor to secure an adequate and uniform administrative supervision of corporations. As a purely fiscal measure the new tax is open to almost every conceivable objection.

The corporation tax is, for instance, repugnant to the principles of accounting, because it deducts taxes before arriving at taxable net earnings, a proceeding as little justifiable as would be a State tax on corporations which deducted from the taxable basis the locally assessable taxes, or *vice versa*. It is repugnant to the principles of justice in taxation in that it provides for the deduction of all sums payable as interest on bonded indebtedness. This practically means that the tax is a tax only on the stockholder and not on the bondholder. Why the man who invests $10,000 in railroad stock should pay taxes and another who invests $10,000 in bonds should go scot-free has never yet been shown. The old argument that the bond represents indebtedness while the stock represents property is, as every student knows, of no economic weight. It is a legal and not an economic consideration. Economically the mortgage is a part of the property; the stock and bonds together constitute the property, the stock being worth so much the less because of the existence of the bonds. If the real intent of the tax was to reach the people who owned the property there would be no justification in taxing only the class of property-owners known as bondholders. The legal situation is not the economic situation. The exemption of bondholders may, indeed, be necessary as a result of the judicial decisions on the income tax; but the economic consequence is lamentable in the extreme in causing the corporation tax to remain a torso.

Finally, thirdly, even if the intent is to reach only the stockholders, the corporation tax is repugnant to sound principles of finance. For, as is familiar to all students, a special tax on a particular class of capital invested in corporations will lead to a so-called amortization of the tax—that is, the market value of the corporate shares will fall by an amount equivalent to the capitalized value of the tax, so that the future purchaser of corporate shares will have bought them free of the tax, discounting

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future taxes in the lower purchase price of the security. Thus the burden of the corporation tax will be borne by present stockholders, leaving future stockholders free.

From all these points of view, therefore, the Federal corporation tax might be declared to be violative of sound economic and fiscal principles. Nevertheless, all these objections are beside the mark, because the real intent of the tax is not fiscal, but social or regulative. It was because of the failure of the States adequately to regulate interstate corporations that this tax was devised. As a revenue-producer or even as a fiscal measure, it is lamentably inadequate, but as a regulative measure it is pregnant of the most far-reaching beneficial results. Whether a satisfactory scheme of regulating large corporations can be attained through a purely fiscal measure may well be doubted. But since taxation can be, and often has been, utilized for social and regulative purposes, it may well be expected that one regulative side of the corporation tax will serve as an entering-wedge to a more effective system. Thus the national corporation tax is a natural, not undesirable, consequence of existing interstate complications.

In the same way the demand for a Federal inheritance tax is in large measure the result of interstate conflicts of tax jurisdiction. Any one who has taken the trouble to follow with care the working of the inheritance tax in our foremost commonwealths will realize that as a revenue-producer it would be far more successful were it not subject to the difficulties of interstate conflicts of tax jurisdiction. The fact that the English inheritance tax yields about twenty times as much as the New York inheritance tax cannot be explained simply by the difference in population or in the tax rate. It is in large measure due to the fact that the Englishman cannot evade the tax as can the New-Yorker by transferring himself or his property to adjacent States where no such tax exists. On the other hand, there have been in America frequent instances of double taxation, as in the well-known case of the estate of a man, whose property happens to be situated in another State, being taxed by each State in turn. Thus the State assessment of inheritances means now undertaxation and now overtaxation—the net result being glaring inequality. From this point of view a Federal inheritance tax would be as superior to a State inheritance tax as the latter would be to a local inheritance tax.

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The same considerations, but in an intensified form, applies to the income tax. If there is anything that may be considered a well-settled induction from experience, it is that an income tax is more and more unsuccessful as the basis of the tax becomes narrower. In former times a local income tax was fairly workable because incomes were chiefly local in their nature. In modern times, however, the income of the taxpayer, and especially the income of the larger taxpayer, has very little to do with the locality in which he happens to live. Nay, more, incomes nowadays, through the working out of economic forces, have become national and international in character and at all events have far transcended State lines. A man may live in one State and may secure his income partly from real-estate holdings situate in another State and partly from investments in securities of corporations whose earnings are derived in many other States. How is it possible for any local or State administration successfully to ascertain or adequately to control such income of its resident citizens? The State income taxes in the United States are largely for that reason the veriest farces, and under present economic conditions can never become anything else. If we are to have an income tax of any kind that is at all in consonance with fiscal principles, it must obviously be a Federal income tax rather than a State income tax. For in no other practicable way shall we be enabled to avoid the numberless complications of interstate double taxation which would assuredly render nugatory any attempt to introduce a State income tax.

It will be seen, therefore, that so far as concerns the question of suitability, resting on the existence of conflicts of tax jurisdictions the arguments in favor of Federal corporation, inheritance and income taxes, are of considerable weight. It would, however, be rash to conclude that the argument is convincing; for there still remains the third point, adverted to above, without a careful consideration of which no final conclusion can be reached. We come, in other words, to the principle of adequacy in taxation.

If we look at revenue measures from the point of view of adequacy, it will be seen that the problem assumes a different form. Let us apply it first to the income tax.

So far as considerations of revenue are concerned, it can scarcely be contested that the income tax is unnecessary for Federal purposes. Federal revenues in the past have in normal times

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been derived almost entirely from custom duties and internal indirect taxes. There is no reason why these sources should not suffice for the future. Without entering here upon the general question of the protective tariff, it may be confidently asserted that we can continue to secure a large and growing revenue from import duties whether the principle of protection be upheld in its integrity or not. Either a revenue tariff with incidental protection or a protective tariff with incidental revenue can be made to yield the desired income. And when we consider the immense population in the United States, it is beyond all question that even a simple system of indirect taxes will suffice to raise the remainder of the needed revenue. The internal revenue, exclusive of the income tax, yielded at the close of the Civil War almost $300,000,000 a year, and if we take into account the prodigious increase in wealth and in consumption during the forty years that have elapsed, it will be apparent that the internal revenue system of the United States might be made to yield to-day many hundred millions of dollars more than it actually does without even approaching the number of taxes or the rate of taxation that existed during the Civil War. It is quite safe to say that so far as we can look into the future the prospective expenditure of the United States may be readily and easily supplied by import duties together with a well-chosen system of light internal revenue taxes.

A national income tax, therefore, is not needed for revenue purposes. Nor is the demand for a national income tax based upon such reasons. The argument in its favor, however, is none the less exceedingly strong. If not needed for revenue, it is needed for justice. This is due to the complete breakdown of the general property tax in State and local finance. Under the existing State and local systems there is no doubt that we are unable to reach the possessors of large fortunes. The wealthy man stands from under, not necessarily because he commits perjury, but because the loopholes in the general property tax have become so numerous that any adroit individual can avail himself of them. A Federal income tax is justifiable on the score of equity under prevalent American conditions.

I would here, however, sound a note of warning. It must not be imagined that a Federal income tax would at once work well. The experience of Germany and even of England must not lead

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us astray. We have neither the administrative machinery of Prussia nor the methods of doing business which are found in Great Britain. The lump-sum, or direct, income tax of Prussia would be hopeless in this country; the schedule, or indirect, income tax of Great Britain would meet with great difficulties in its application here. It has taken England half a century to work out the problem of its income tax and to make it fairly successful. It would take us, perhaps, almost as long to make even a Federal income tax an administrative success. Thus those who hope for a fiscal or a social panacea in the Federal income tax are bound to be wofully disappointed. Moreover, if introduced into this country, an income tax measure must be framed with the most extreme care on the lines far different from those of 1862 and 1894.

One final advantage of the Federal income tax which must not be overlooked is that it would render far easier the struggle that is going on in our various States to amend or to abolish the iniquitous personal property tax. The taxation of intangible personalty has become a byword and a reproach to our American public life. All efforts to reform the system of the general property tax have thus far shattered against the rock of popular conviction that such wealth as consists of personal property ought not to be allowed to escape. If now we were to have a Federal income tax, however unsuccessful it might be at first, it would take the wind out of the sails of these objectors; and the would-be reformers of the system of local and State taxation would no longer be met by the contention that personal property must be listed for taxation. For personal property would then be reached through the Federal income tax. It is most significant that in Great Britain personal property was entirely exempted from all local taxation in the very same decade that the national income tax was imposed.

Our conclusion would then be that so far as the income tax is concerned, even though it be not needed for purposes of revenue, it is nevertheless a desirable adjunct to our scheme of Federal taxation. It goes, of course, without saying that even apart from this question the projected constitutional movement, legalizing the income tax, ought to prevail. For even if the income tax were not to constitute a part of our normal revenue system, it would be deplorable in the extreme if a mighty empire like

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the United States were unable to use this potent engine of revenue in time of need.

When, however, we come to consider the inheritance tax and the corporation tax, we find that the argument from the principle of adequacy is somewhat different. The income tax is not employed, and is not needed, for State or local revenues; but the same is by no means true of the inheritance tax and the corporation tax. Every one who is familiar with the recent developments of tax reform in the American States knows that the tendency is very clear. There is an undoubted movement toward the separation of State and local revenues, with a reservation of the real-estate tax to the localities. On the fundamental reasons for this world-wide movement it is not necessary or proper here to enter, but it is pertinent to call attention to the fact that the general property tax is coming more and more to be restricted to the localities, and that the State governments have in consequence been compelled to reach out for new and independent sources of revenue. These new sources of revenue have consisted primarily of the corporation tax and the inheritance tax, supplemented in a few cases like New York by some other forms of taxation. In some States this process has been entirely completed, and the general property tax is no longer employed for State purposes, to the great advantage of all concerned. If now the Federal government were to seize upon either, or still worse, both the inheritance tax and corporation tax, this entire salutary movement would have to be checked. The assumption by the Federal government of what it does not need for fiscal purposes and of what is seriously needed by the State governments would be a calamity of the first magnitude—a calamity the full significance of which can be appreciated only by those who during the past few decades have patiently watched and labored to help in bringing about the beginning of the great reform which is now visible. The abandonment by the States of reliance on the aid afforded by the corporation tax and the inheritance tax is something that cannot be entertained for a moment.

On the other hand, as we have seen, both the inheritance tax and the corporation tax, like the income tax, are really better fitted for Federal administration. How, then, are we to escape these two horns of the dilemma? According to the principle of suitably the inheritance tax and the corporation tax should be

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Federal taxes; according to the principle of adequacy they should be State taxes.

May I venture to suggest a method which will prevent us from being impaled on either of the two horns of the dilemma and which may extricate us from the difficulty? Why is it not possible to secure all the ends of suitability by having the taxes administered by the Federal government under general Federal laws, and why is it not possible to secure all the ends of adequacy by having the proceeds apportioned in whole or in part to the various States? This is my solution of the difficulty: let the national government assess the taxes and let the State governments profit by the taxes.

This is by no means so new or revolutionary a suggestion as it may appear. It is found in some form or other in many countries and in not a few of the American commonwealths. In England, for instance, the inheritance tax is assessed by the central government, but a part of the proceeds are allotted to the local governments. The same is true of some other taxes in England. In Germany the proceeds of certain indirect taxes are divided between the federal and the state governments, and one of the important features in the recent budgetary scheme of Chancellor von Bülow was to have a federally administered inheritance tax, a part of the proceeds to go to the states. This scheme has only temporarily been abandoned. In Canada it is well known that a large part of the provincial revenues is derived from the proceeds of taxes that are levied by the federal government. Other instances might readily be multiplied. In the United States also many of our separate commonwealths raise revenues which are apportioned to the local administration. Even the Federal government, as in the one famous instance of the Distribution of the Surplus, apportioned to the various States the proceeds of Federally assessed taxes. The question of the constitutionality of the scheme that I have suggested may be left to the lawyers. My own opinion, expressed with all diffidence, is that a constitutional method can be devised. But my additional opinion, expressed without any diffidence, is that if constitutional methods cannot be devised, the sooner a constitutional amendment is procured the better it will be. I can see no other avenue of escape from the complications that are looming up on all sides. It may, indeed, be claimed that the difficulties connected with

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the conflicts of State jurisdiction can be overcome in another way—namely, by interstate agreements based on considerations of interstate comity, whereby each State will obligate itself to refrain from levying more than its equitable and proper share of the tax. While this consummation would be exceedingly desirable, it may well be doubted whether it is at all feasible. American experience has, unfortunately, driven home the lesson that the separate commonwealths cannot be depended upon voluntarily to relinquish any weapons which may constitutionally be employed in the struggle of local and sectional interests for economic advantage. Even if the majority of the States could be induced to enter into such a compact, the defection or refusal of a few States would be sufficient to defeat the whole scheme. In other federal states, like Germany, *e. g.*, it has been found necessary to achieve the desirable uniformity by imposing it upon the states through national regulation. It is clear, however, that the American commonwealths would not brook such national interference, and that the accomplishment of the desired end would require a constitutional amendment which it would be well-nigh impossible to secure.

Moreover, even if such interstate uniformity could be reached in this way, it would at best apply only to the inheritance tax. It would still fail to meet the problem involved in the corporation tax—the problem, viz., of reaching the corporate earnings derived exclusively or in large measure from interstate business. When even the economic apportionment to each State of its proper share of revenue from such complex sources is so difficult a matter to accomplish, the problem of the fiscal adjustment by purely State administrative methods may be declared to be well-nigh insoluble.

We are, therefore, forced back to the scheme suggested above as the sole practicable alternative. The method of Federal administration and State apportionment will accomplish everything that is needed. It will conform to the principles of efficiency and of suitability, because the taxes in question can best be administered by the Federal government and because in that way alone the gross inequalities of the present system can be overcome. While, on the other hand, the separate States will secure the revenues which they need and will be able to continue in the path of tax reform upon which they have so auspiciously entered.

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Thus we reach the conclusion that of the three great taxes about which the controversy has now become so acute, the income tax ought to be levied by the Federal government and its proceeds utilized not only to diminish the burden of the national indirect taxes, but more especially in order to facilitate the reform of the State general property tax; and we reach the further conclusion that the corporation tax and the inheritance tax should be levied as national taxes by the Federal government, but under a clear understanding with the separate States that the proceeds should be distributed in whole or in greater part to them. To determine the exact methods of repartition would be comparatively easy. For that would be a matter of detail, not of principle. The important point is that some adjustment be reached whereby the legitimate demands of equality and of uniformity may be complied with without those of efficiency and adequacy being sacrificed. The interests of the States must at all costs be safeguarded, but the difficulties inherent in a State administration of what has become national in character must be avoided. The plan outlined above will accomplish this end. In this way, and probably in this way alone, can we do justice to the underlying principles of fiscal and social reform. In this way, and probably in this way alone, can the relations of State and Federal finance be put on an enduring and a completely satisfactory basis.

EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN.

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LOCAL OPTION AND AFTER.

BY RUSSELL E. MACNAGHTEN.

THERE is a growing demand that the Temperance question shall be solved on sane and rational lines. This feeling is by no means confined to those who have arrogated to themselves the name of the Temperance party. On the contrary, though it is impossible to dogmatize on such a point, it seems reasonable to hold that at least four-fifths of the electors in any English-speaking country would heartily welcome any measure that, without going to extremes, would offer on a rational basis some permanent solution of this vexed question.

The most recent example of a tendency which is world-wide is afforded by the British Isles, where the Licensing Bill of the present Government passed the House of Commons by a very large majority, notwithstanding the vast vested interests which the liquor traffic has accumulated throughout Great Britain. That the House of Lords should have temporarily succeeded in stopping this measure of reform is no disproof of the fact that even when enormous pecuniary interests were at stake a very large majority of the electors voted through their representatives for a measure of reform which (1) set a definite limit to the continuance of vested interests, and (2) positively established the principle of Local Option, as a main factor in future licensing developments. Nor was this measure in any way the result of crude or hasty legislation. On the contrary, every section of the bill was the product of the most careful and mature consideration and had been discussed in every newspaper throughout the length and breadth of the land. Again the principles of "Time Limit" and "Local Option" had for many years been suggested as inseparable concomitants of any scheme of reasonable reform. The whole bill, in fact, represented a wise, deliberate and mature

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compromise between all sections of Temperance opinion, Prohibitionist and moderate, lay and clerical. No measure was ever more carefully or dispassionately considered, and under these circumstances the prominence there given to Local Option is a striking testimony to its merits. It is with the object of showing some of the latent possibilities of this great principle that this article is now written. It is curious how little the wide scope of Local Option, or the results which it has already actually accomplished in other parts of the world, are recognized by the general public. To a great extent, especially on the American continent, the true potentialities of Local Option have been obscured and limited by the action of the extreme section of the Temperance party, who have endeavored to convert Local Option into a contrivance for securing under a different name the principle of Prohibition. Unfortunately, the discretion of this class of reformers has not been in proportion to their zeal.

Provided that in any given locality a proportion of the population sufficiently large to insure the enforcement of the law could be found to vote for the total abolition of the saloon, the cause of morality and order would undoubtedly be furthered in such a place. But, as Bacon says, "there is no greater torture than the torture of laws," and there is similarly no more humiliating or degrading spectacle than the open and flagrant violation of a law placed on the statute-book in defiance of a considerable body of public opinion. If Prohibition, then, is to be secured by local option, the goal for which the reformer must strive is "*Prohibition in fact*" and not merely "*Prohibition in name.*" For this reason it seems perfectly clear that, except in the case of small towns, the "bare majority" principle which the less enlightened Prohibitionists regard as the ideal is not capable of enforcement and must therefore be rejected. To take a concrete instance, it seems unreasonable to expect that if, in a city containing a hundred thousand persons and one hundred saloons, the principle of local option were introduced, and the closing of all saloons were voted for by a majority of one, it would be possible to enforce such a decision. On the other hand, it is perfectly certain that if a principle to which no reasonable reformer could object, namely, the limitation of saloons to a fixed minimum of the local population were introduced, actual Prohibition would *ipso facto* prevail in all rural and semi-rural locali-

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ties. Thus no reasonable reformer could cavil at legislation limiting saloons to one for every thousand of the population; and I am personally inclined to believe that there would not be much difficulty in raising the limit to one for every two thousand of the population. Yet by so simple and reasonable a measure actual* Prohibition would be made effective all over the rural districts and in numerous small towns, without the necessity for periodic recourse to a local-option vote. Vast and numerous Prohibitionist areas would thus be established; which in itself would be an enormous aid towards promoting Temperance habits and principles in the more populous urban centres.

But the problem of regulating or abolishing the liquor traffic in large urban centres is a very different and a much more difficult task; and the difficulties of absolute Prohibition increase in direct proportion to the numerical size of the town or city. Admitting the principle that no more than one license should be permitted for every one (or two) thousand of the population, we should probably be confronted with no very serious difficulty in enforcing Prohibition in a town of five thousand inhabitants, even by a bare majority vote, provided there was a real desire at headquarters that the police should enforce the popular mandate. Double the size of the town, and it is almost certain that if the option of a bare majority were in favor of "no license" the sale of alcoholic liquors would not cease, but would merely be replaced by sly grog-shops and other forms of illicit traffic. On this point the evidence accumulated in many lands by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell in their monumental work, "The Temperance Problem and Social Reform," seems conclusive. On the other hand, it is equally certain that even in large cities it must be perfectly possible to enforce actual and total Prohibition of the saloon, provided that a sufficiently preponderating number of the electors cast their votes in favor of such a policy, and it is of vital import that we should at least form a tolerably accurate estimate of what that preponderance should be. It is clear, for instance, to take an extreme example, that if ninety per cent. of the electors were determined to enforce Prohibition the saloon would immediately go out of existence; and there seems every reason to think that a far lesser majority would be equally ef-

* By "Prohibition" I mean Prohibition of the licensed saloon or hotel; not necessarily exclusion of the importation of alcoholic liquors.

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fective, especially if the principle of option were extended in another direction to which I shall presently refer. If nine men can compel one man of equal strength to refrain from thwarting their purpose, it is really almost equally the case that two can impose their wishes on one, even when the numbers on each side are multiplied to any extent. Again it should be remembered that the principle of a two-thirds majority would not only have a far greater chance of success from mere numerical superiority than a bare majority, but the principle itself is one which many, who would refuse to assent to the bare majority view, would be willing to support, especially if the alternative option of reduction of licenses were always joined to it. It is, indeed, extraordinary that temperance reformers should have been so blind to the possibilities of this form of option. While absolute Prohibition is a drastic remedy, which only commends itself naturally to the more advanced sections of the Temperance party, Reduction is a remedy which must appeal to all bodies of the citizens, irrespective of creed or party, with the single exception of those whose pecuniary interests are directly concerned in the maintenance of the liquor traffic. This principle of Reduction might be introduced in two ways. I have already pointed out the desirability of regulating the number of saloons in proportion to a certain minimum unit of the population. If the very reasonable law were passed that no licenses should be granted in excess of one saloon to every thousand of the population, it is clear that by these means alone there would be a large and automatic reduction without any need of assistance from Local Option. But there is not the least reason why, if the maximum basis of one to a thousand were once established, the people of any particular town or city should not be given at the time of a local-option poll the further option of saying whether they wished for a greater reduction than that necessitated by the general law. Suppose, for instance, that the law which I have been advocating had been passed. A city of 100,000 inhabitants, which before the passing of the law had one hundred and fifty licensed saloons, would immediately possess only one hundred. Why should not the inhabitants (in addition to the right of deciding whether they would have saloons at all) have the further right of reducing the number of saloons to fifty or even to a lesser figure? Such an option would in many cases be far more effective than the method of voting "yes"

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or "no" for absolute Prohibition, because it would rally to its support many who might be disinclined to vote for a more drastic alternative.

There is another matter, which, though it does not strictly fall within the scope of Local Option—being, indeed, rather a subject for legislative enactment—yet is so closely allied to it that it may receive passing mention here. Under the absurd and haphazard system under which licenses have been granted in the past, one frequently sees from half a dozen to a dozen licensed houses crowded together within a few hundred yards of each other. Under any properly organized system of licensing such a state of things would be impossible. If it is desirable that licenses should be limited in number to a certain proportion of the population, it is equally desirable that a space limit should be set. If licensed premises were not allowed in closer proximity than a quarter of a mile to each other, much of the temptation to which workingmen are so constantly exposed would be at once removed.

Nor are the possibilities of local option or choice by any means confined to the matters I have mentioned. While it is clearly necessary that the Government should fix certain maximum hours for the sale of alcoholic liquors, outside of and beyond which it is illegal for alcohol to be sold even in a licensed house, there is no logical reason why any particular district, supposing it should vote for the continuance of the licensing system, should not have the power of reducing the number of hours during which within its own borders alcoholic liquor might be served in public. Thus the electors of a particular town might reasonably hold that 9 P.M. was a sufficiently late hour for the public sale of alcoholic beverages. If a preponderating majority of the voters held this view, why should they not have the power of enforcing it? Again the same electors might even more reasonably hold that ten o'clock in the morning was at least a sufficiently early hour for the retail sale of alcoholic liquors to commence. Why should they not be able, provided they could secure a preponderating vote at the local polls, to make such a restriction of hours a part of the local licensing law?

The real reason why this and other similar possibilities of local option have been neglected in the past is because the extreme and fanatical section of the Temperance party has endeavored to force its will on the rest of the population. To the extent that one

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form of Local Option seemed to lead the way to Prohibition, to that extent they have supported it, but they have confined their efforts entirely to this one side of the subject and have wilfully and deliberately refused to support anything which did not seem to lead directly to their own immediate goal. Indeed, to some extent the extreme Prohibitionists seem to take a morbid delight in raising as much antagonism as possible in the minds of all those who are not prepared to adopt their views in their entirety. A so-called "Local-Option Campaign" has lately been inaugurated in British Columbia. As one who believes in the potentialities of this great principle I attended several of the meetings. I was shocked and grieved to find that the main object of the speakers seemed to be to outrage moderate public opinion to the utmost extent. Persons who were not absolute teetotalers were classed as worse than drunkards, while one of the female orators more than hinted that no one had a right to belong to any of the churches who was not a total abstainer. These speakers, while deploring the ravages caused by intemperance, did not seem to realize that in order to produce any salutary or effective reform it is absolutely necessary that every shade of public opinion that is in any way favorable to the promotion of temperance should be enlisted on their side.

Again to a large extent those who are most eager in promoting Prohibition by means of local option are not persons who have received what is called "a college education." The almost necessary result of this is a biased and prejudiced attitude in regard to any views differing from their own, and a complete ignorance of what has been accomplished in other parts of the world in the direction in which they themselves are endeavoring to proceed. Undoubtedly the most remarkable development of the principle of local choice or option is that which has taken place in Norway. Local Option is the general rule in all towns of any considerable size (the rural districts being generally under absolute Prohibition); but the choice is not between Prohibition and the saloon selling liquor for the maximum profit, but between Prohibition and saloons managed by disinterested companies whose maximum profits are limited to five per cent.

In other words, the Norwegians, while recognizing the merits of the principle of local option, also realized that the radical and supreme curse of the liquor trade was the fact that alcohol was

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sold for a maximum profit. By combining the two principles of "Local Choice" and "The Abolition of Private Profit" they have evolved what is in theory the one scientific method of combating the liquor traffic; and when they succeed in their endeavors to apply these principles to the sale of all alcoholic beverages, whether fermented or distilled, instead of as at present to the sale of brandy alone, they will establish a principle of double option which will be almost ideal in character. At present in practically all English-speaking countries local option means the choice between total Prohibition and a system of licensing which is so pernicious in its effects that, though its growth has really been fortuitous, it could not have been worse if all the ingenuity of man had been employed to devise the most vicious scheme that it was possible to produce. The radical and initial mistake has been to treat the saloon or public house as an ordinary shop with a license attached for the sale of its particular wares; and it is from this initial error that all the misery and degradation that are everywhere the inevitable accompaniment of such a system have necessarily sprung. For this state of things it is absurd and illogical to blame the publican or saloon-keeper. Economically, he is merely fulfilling his mission when he pushes the sale of his wares to the utmost extent; and it would be just as unreasonable to blame the proprietor of a boot-store for pushing the sale of boots and shoes as to find fault with the individual publican for adopting the same process in regard to his own particular wares. Every storekeeper is only fulfilling the general and salutary law of trade when he pushes the sale of his own goods; and when once the sale of alcohol was brought under the general rules of retail commerce, it was inevitable that the same result should follow. If it had been recognized at the outset that alcohol was not a fitting subject for ordinary commercial treatment, what an enormous amount of sin and misery would have been saved to the world! And the reason is not far to seek. When the purveyor of ordinary commercial wares, be they boots or any other ordinary mercantile commodity, pushes the sale of his wares, he is not only benefiting himself, but also incidentally his customers, because no man in his senses will buy more boots or the like than are necessary for his reasonable requirements; and even if he did, it would be only his pocket that would suffer. But with the case of alcohol it is very different, because the small-

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est amount taken in excess of the most moderate quantity will not only injure the customer himself at the time by incapacitating him for work; but, if the habit be indulged in, will mar his usefulness as a citizen, and in all probability render him an actual burden if not a menace to the community. Moreover, the retailer who, under the present system, is licensed to sell alcoholic wares for private profit not only has all the inducements of any other retail trader to push the sale of his particular wares, but, as he has to pay in return for his license an extra and a fairly severe price for the privilege, he has an extra inducement even beyond other storekeepers to push his own trade. Until, therefore, the element of "private profit" is eliminated from the saloon, it is impossible to expect real or permanent reform. Unfortunately, the average Prohibitionist does not recognize the extreme danger of the present system and is from his very tenets prevented from making any personal or first-hand observation of the situation. It is clearly a flaw in the reformer's position when he is unable to diagnose with accuracy the evils which he is attacking. To a man who has never been inside a saloon, it is almost impossible to convey any idea of the main evil of the present system, or to make him understand to what an extent intemperance is fostered and encouraged by the notion that its customers are bound to keep on drinking "for the good of the house."

On this part of the subject I can speak with some authority. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, it occurred to me that an actual and personal investigation of the public-house system might probably throw considerable light on some of the main causes of intemperance. From a stay of several months in Germany, I knew the German "Guest-house" was a place to which perfectly respectable people of both sexes could and did resort without indulging in excess, and even without partaking of alcoholic beverages at all. I accordingly determined to visit a certain number of English public houses at night, and to keep a record of my impressions and experiences. Altogether I visited nearly fifty public houses in different parts of the country. My method was a very simple one. I took off watch and chain, put on an old coat and, after entering the place of my particular quest smoking a pipe, asked for a newspaper, which I pretended to read while I took mental notes of what was going on. In order to give my experiment a fair trial I never stayed less than half

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an hour, and as I had been told that the closing-time on Saturday night was a scene of special orgy, I on one occasion stayed for two hours and a half in a public house at St. Helens, Lancashire, being the last man to quit the premises. During part of my tour I was staying at Toynbee Hall, the University Settlement in East London, and as one or two of the inmates were interested in my experiment I was enabled to visit in their company houses in some of the worst slums of East London, whose reputation was worse than the reality, for we were never molested in any way. My general impressions were recorded in "Macmillan's Magazine" for September, 1885, in an article in which, after briefly narrating some of my experiences, I drew special attention to the need of eliminating the principle of private profit from the retail trade in alcoholic liquors. After a lapse of considerably more than twenty years, I am convinced that this is the one thing essential in dealing with this part of the question. So long as saloons are conducted for private profit, so long will their frequenters be tempted to keep on drinking "for the good of the house," and so long will the owners of these saloons continue to push the sale of their wares to the utmost extent.

Local option can do much in the solution of the temperance problem, but it cannot accomplish everything; and to obtain really effective reform it must be linked to a system of licensing under which private profit shall be completely eliminated. I do not personally think that this particular phase of the question is a matter for local choice; it should rather be settled by direct and decisive legislation. Under the law of 1845—supplemented by the Licensing Acts of 1871-1904—the people of Norway have* Prohibition in the rural districts; while in the towns they have by the Act of 1894 the dual option of (*a*) Prohibition of the retail trade in spirits or (*b*) disinterested company management. The Norwegian law does not provide for a reversion to private license; the evils of which have been too conspicuous to permit of any possibility of their repetition. The dual option prevalent in Norway is the system which should be adopted on the American continent, supplemented in each locality by additional options in regard to (*a*) the reduction of the number of licensed houses, (*b*) the hours of closing.

* "Prohibition" in Norway does not extend to the wholesale trade, nor does it affect beer or wine; it is concerned with the native spirit.

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Under such a scheme of reform as is here proposed, we should have absolute Prohibition in every rural district and in small towns whose population was less than one thousand persons. In towns from one thousand to ten thousand persons we should have the two alternatives of (*a*) Prohibition and (*b*) disinterested company management, to be settled by a local vote, in which women as well as men should have the privilege of the franchise. As it is obviously easier to prevent the surreptitious sale of alcohol in a small town than in a large one, I think that in towns of less than ten thousand inhabitants Prohibition might be secured by a sixty-per-cent. or even by a bare majority of those actually recording their votes.

In towns and cities above ten thousand, Prohibition should only be carried by a two-thirds majority; but a bare majority should be sufficient to bring about either a reduction in the number of licensed houses below the statutory limit of one to every thousand of the population or to reduce the hours during which the sale of alcohol was permitted.

It remains to consider what should be the character and management of such licensed houses as might be permitted under such a system of local options as has been here suggested.

In the first place, I would urge as the prime necessity of reform that the bar should be completely and irrevocably abolished. Nothing struck me so much during the course of my inspection of the English public house as the insidious and pernicious influence of the bar. The bar is really nothing else than the counter of the ordinary store, and it is used for precisely the same purpose, namely, to push the sale of the particular wares which the publican has for sale. That the bar at least doubles the number of sales I have no manner of doubt, and this is indeed the sole reason of its existence. A good deal was said during the recent discussions on the English Licensing Bill about barmaids, and a vigorous effort was made by a certain class of reformers to make their presence in public houses illegal. That barmaids are stationed behind the bar for precisely the same reason as the existence of the bar itself is undoubtedly the case; but if the bar itself were abolished the same result would be accomplished. And I am personally inclined to believe that the presence of waitresses in a licensed house from which the element of private profit was eliminated would tend to sobriety rather than intemperance. But

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as regards the bar itself, I have not the slightest doubt that it is the most objectionable feature in an objectionable system, and its disappearance is absolutely necessary to any scheme of rational reform.

In the next place,I am decidedly of the opinion that the prevalent idea that it is conducive to temperance to compel the holder of a license to provide a certain amount of sleeping accommodation is wholly mistaken. As a matter of fact, the persons who make use of the sleeping accommodation and those who frequent the bar are not necessarily or generally the same. I was much struck by this fact during a tour which I made from Montreal in the spring of 1906 to Saskatchewan and Alberta. The boarding accommodation at the majority of the hotels was extremely reasonable in price, and had it not been for the adjunct of the bar-rooms could hardly have recouped the proprietors. These bar-rooms, however, did a roaring trade, not amongst the boarders, but practically almost entirely with the local inhabitants. The net result of such a system is really this: that the licensee is virtually compelled to recoup himself for any deficit incurred in providing boarding and sleeping accommodation by pushing the sale of alcohol in the bar to the utmost possible extent. That he is blameworthy under the circumstances I cannot see; he is merely pursuing a course which is the logical effect of the law. It is the law which is to blame.

Of equal importance with the abolition of the bar is the removal of any incentive to private profit. The methods employed in the Scandinavian peninsula in regard to the sale of spirits should be adopted in every licensed house in regard to the sale of all intoxicating liquors, whether fermented or distilled. To the extent that the Gothenburg system has been a failure, it has been so because it has only been partially and imperfectly applied; but, while some of its details are not worthy of imitation, these are certain features which should certainly be utilized to the fullest extent. There are grave objections, especially on this continent, to any system of direct Government or municipal control. Under the semi-municipal company, with profits limited to a maximum of five per cent., experience has shown in Sweden, Norway and England that it is possible to get men of high character and civic ability to serve on the board of directors; while if the profits of the shareholders be limited to a maximum of

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five per cent. there is no incentive to push the sale of alcohol. Indeed, with profits so limited, it is not always easy to secure the necessary capital, because the net result is that it is practically only those who are philanthropically inclined who are willing to contribute where the profits are limited to a low percentage, while there is always the possibility of no return whatsoever. To further safeguard the licensed house from being exploited for the sake of private gain, it is essential that the employees, in addition to their salaries, should receive a liberal commission on the sale of food and non-intoxicating beverages, but no commission whatsoever on the sale of alcohol, whether distilled or fermented. The adoption of this simple yet admirable device is imperative in any scheme of scientific reform. It immediately becomes the active interest of every employee to curtail to the utmost extent the sale of alcohol, for the simple reason that every glass of alcohol sold is a waste of time so far as their own pockets are concerned, while the more food and non-alcoholic beverages which they can sell the larger will their own incomes be.

The question of the distribution of surplus profits—namely, those which may accrue after the maximum of five per cent. has been divided amongst the shareholders—is a very serious one, and one where it is of the utmost importance to draw experience from the errors committed elsewhere. At Gothenburg itself a grievous initial mistake was made. A large portion of the surplus profits was devoted to objects which might legitimately have received support from the rates, and to this extent therefore the system, as originally conducted at Gothenburg, might not unreasonably seem to have a direct interest in the increase of the liquor traffic. The difference in this direction between the Gothenburg and Norwegian systems is well put in the recent "Report on the Liquor Licensing Laws of Norway" issued by the Scottish Temperance Legislation Board:

> "The most important difference between the Gothenburg and Norwegian systems lies in their respective provisions for the distribution of the surplus profits of the companies. Under the Swedish system, private profit is supplanted by a very direct form of public profit, the Bolag surpluses being used to reduce the public burden of the rates, and therefore the towns of Sweden have a very tangible interest in the liquor traffic, whereas that interest is entirely absent from the municipal politics of Norway, and the purity of Norwegian municipal life is safeguarded against one of the most insidious and deadly kinds of attack."

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At present, excepting for those who might prefer that some arrangement be made for the redemption of share capital out of the surplus profits, this method of distribution seems practically ideal. The state receives sixty-five per cent. of the surplus net profits; the municipality (in lieu of larger license duties now abolished), fifteen per cent.; while the remaining twenty per cent. are devoted to objects of public utility, not chargeable on any rates, but operating as counter-attractions to the public house. I must confess, however, that I am personally attracted by the possibility of converting the company system into a purely public trust by utilizing annually a fixed proportion of the surplus profits to that end. Why, for instance, should not the surplus profits be partly utilized in redeeming the share capital annually at par? An example will serve to explain my meaning. Suppose in some town of 12,000 inhabitants who decided, after a local-option poll, to license a restricted number of houses a company were formed with a capital of $50,000 and with shareholders' profits limited to five per cent. Suppose, again, that the total average annual profits were fifteen per cent. In such a case it would be clearly possible to redeem the whole of the original share capital in the space of ten years; so that at the end of that period the town would possess in its licensed system an independent public trust in which no private citizen would have one cent of pecuniary interest.

In conclusion, brief consideration may be given to details of site and internal economy. It is of the utmost importance that no licensed houses shall be placed in alleys or by-streets. On the contrary, the location should in every case be such that the public can be aware of any infringement of the licensing law. At the same time, it is equally desirable that nothing should be done to advertise the licensed house. I was much struck with this feature of the Swedish system when I visited Gothenburg. We reached the harbor before noon, and during the afternoon I walked about the city endeavoring to discover some of the licensed houses belonging to the system which I had come to inspect. I spent two hours walking all over the main streets of the city, and at the end of that time had come to the conclusion that the Gothenburg system did not exist! It was not till I called on some of the directors on the following day that I discovered where my error lay. I had passed several of the houses belonging

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to the company in my walk, but, though they nearly all had corner situations, there was nothing whatever in their outside appearance to indicate that they were places of alcoholic refreshment. I have since noticed that other visitors to Gothenburg have been struck by the same fact; and this marked absence of any endeavor to advertise their houses is certainly a most commendable feature of this system. Again, it is extremely desirable that great attention should be paid to providing a proper system of ventilation. There is nothing which more encourages excessive drinking than a poisoned and unventilated atmosphere, and in this particular I have found nearly all public houses to be extremely deficient, partly, no doubt, from carelessness or ignorance, but partly, it is to be feared, from a knowledge that proper ventilation would seriously affect the sales at the bar. The "tobin" principle, by which a circular pipe is admitted from the outside, is so simple, economical and effective that there is really no excuse for such a constant violation of sanitary principles in the ordinary licensed house.

And now let me briefly sum up the main points of my article. I have endeavored to show that the true solution of the Temperance question lies in Local Option combined with a licensing system of disinterested management; and that in no case should the unit of one licensed house for every thousand of the population be exceeded. Local option should for this purpose embrace the power of deciding, by a substantial majority, the simple question of "License or no License"; while a bare majority should have the further power of reducing the number of licensed houses and also reducing the daily period of hours during which alcohol could be legitimately sold.

Disinterested management should combine the principles of a company (*a*) limiting its shareholders' profits to five per cent. and (*b*) giving to its employees, in addition to their salary, a liberal commission on the sale of food and non-intoxicants. The bar should be absolutely abolished, and the surplus profits be so disposed of as to remove from the municipality or city any motive for encouraging the traffic in alcoholic liquors. If genuine Prohibition is ever to be attained, I submit that it is by proceeding on the lines of least resistance that such a reform can most effectively and speedily be accomplished.

R. E. MACNAGHTEN.

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THE GEORGIAN BAY CANAL.

BY S. J. MCLEAN.

FROM the beginning of its canal policy, Canada has been interested not only in obtaining a cheap water route for its own produce, but also in attracting traffic to this route from the United States. While the Canadian Parliament declared, in 1875, in favor of a fourteen-foot waterway from the Lakes to the seaboard, it was not until 1900 that this was obtained. The fact that the Erie Canal, owing to its lagging behind in point of technical improvements, has become of minor importance in the transportation of grain to the seaboard has caused New York to fear the diversion of traffic to the St. Lawrence route. This was used as an argument by the Erie Canal Commission in 1899 in favor of the improvement of the Erie Canal. The diversion of a large part of the export grain traffic to Montreal during the season of 1908 has attracted further attention to the competition of the Canadian route. Canada has expended, in round numbers, $116,000,000 on its canal system; $94,000,000 of this amount have been expended in the last forty years. Over seven-eighths of the latter sum has been expended on the route from Lake Superior to Montreal.

While a large part of the expenditure has been concerned with the development of a waterway competitive for American traffic, it is only of recent years that the anticipations have begun to be realized. The canal at the Canadian "Soo" competes for American traffic. This canal was opened in 1895. In 1896 the tonnage passing through was 7.9 millions; by 1907 the tonnage had doubled. The Canadian canal percentage of the total traffic passing through the two "Soo" canals is gradually increasing. In 1901 it was 8 per cent.; in 1907 it amounted to 26 per cent.; this represents both a relative and an absolute increase. The

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tonnage passing through the Canadian canal, like that using the American canal, consists almost wholly of low-grade bulky freight, the greater part being east-bound. In 1907, 12.5 millions of tons of freight passed down through the Canadian canal, an increase of 76 per cent. over 1906. The canal is not, however, successful in carrying a large portion of this down by the St. Lawrence route. Of the 1907 grain shipments from Port Arthur and Fort William 24 per cent. went by water to Canadian points east of the Welland Canal; while 43 per cent. went to Georgian Bay and Lake Huron points, whence it was handled by rail. It must be remembered that, while the "Soo" Canal permits the passage of the large Lake-going vessels, conditions are different in the case of the Welland and the St. Lawrence canals. In general, a vessel 247 feet in length, 42 feet 6 inches wide, drawing 13 feet and carrying 2,212 tons of cargo may be regarded as typical of the ordinary vessel accommodation afforded by these canals.

Early in 1907 a deputation of vessel-owners and grain-shippers memorialized the Dominion Government to so deepen and improve the Welland Canal as to accommodate the largest vessels of the Upper Lakes. The Government has at present under consideration a project for deepening the canal to twenty-five feet. The various commercial organizations are, however, by no means agreed on this question. At present it takes a vessel from sixteen to nineteen hours to lock through the canal, according to the conditions of traffic. The same expenditure of time would permit the vessel to get back to the Detroit River. In the case of the larger vessels it would be more economical to pick up a coal cargo on Lake Erie and go west to the river than to continue east, attempting to pick up a cargo west-bound from the light traffic offering from Lake Ontario or the St. Lawrence River. It is true that if the canal were improved the time disadvantage would be lessened, but it would not be eliminated. As regards the deepening of the St. Lawrence canals, it may be noted that the transportation of grain in barges from Prescott to Montreal has certain advantages. The exporter can bring his barges alongside the ocean-going vessel at Montreal, thus saving elevator charges which have been complained of as exorbitant. If the ocean vessel is not ready to load, the demurrage charges on the barges are low.

It is under such conditions of dissatisfaction with the Lower

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Lake and river canals that there has been a renewed interest in the Georgian Bay canal route. The project for a canalized waterway from the Upper Lakes by way of the French River, Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River to Montreal attracted attention so early as 1845. In 1856 and in 1860 surveys were made. Undoubtedly this route has great advantages in point of distance. A vessel going from the "Soo" or from the Straits of Mackinaw to Montreal would by this route practically take one side of a triangle, as compared with two sides of the triangle by way of the Lower Lakes. The following table shows some of the distance advantages of the route:

From.	To.	Via Lower Lakes in miles.	Via Georgian Bay Canal in miles.	Advantage in favor of canal.
Chicago.....	New York	1,389	—	—
Chicago.....	Montreal	—	905	484
Duluth.....	New York	1,500	—	—
Duluth.....	Montreal	—	997	503
Fort William.....	Montreal	1,296	—	—
Fort William.....	Montreal	—	934	362

The earlier surveys were concerned with obtaining a depth of from ten to twelve feet, and the cost of construction was estimated at from $12,000,000 to $24,000,000. In more recent years the increase in the average draught and carrying capacity of Lake-going vessels has led to a change of opinion in regard to the depth and cost of construction. While some, at an earlier period, favored a barge canal, the recent interest has been concerned with a waterway which will permit a Lake vessel to unload at Montreal. The Canadian Government has recently completed a comprehensive engineering survey of the whole route based on a minimum depth of twenty-two feet. The project submitted would permit the passage of the largest Lake vessels from Lake Huron to Montreal. In finding that the route was feasible from an engineering standpoint, the report of the survey was confirmatory of the opinion expressed by the "Engineering News" in its issue of March 5th, 1903:

"From an engineering standpoint, disregarding for the moment political boundaries, there can be no doubt that the Ottawa route is by far the best for a deep waterway from the Upper Lakes to the sea. So far as export traffic from the northwest to Europe is concerned, it offers by far the best possible route. . . ."

In comparing this route with existing or projected routes the question of the elevation to be overcome is of importance. Be-

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tween Montreal and Georgian Bay there are 440 miles of navigation. Natural channels are available for 80 per cent. of this distance. To reach the summit level, 659 feet of lockage will be necessary. By the Welland Canal route only 534 feet of lockage are necessary. The Georgian Bay route has also to be compared with the proposed deepening of the Mississippi River as well as with the artificial waterways projected to connect Georgian Bay with Lake Ontario. The proposed deep waterway from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico would give a route of 1,625 miles. It is true that the estimated cost of a deep waterway by this route does not call for more than $40,000,000. But there must also be considered the nature of the stream, its tortuous course, which is 60 per cent. longer than the direct distance, and the large amount of silt carried down by the river. These conditions will necessitate a continuous expenditure for dredging which will not be present in the case of the Ottawa River route. In addition, the longer ocean voyage from the mouth of the Mississippi and the higher ocean freight rates prevailing by way of the Gulf of Mexico are disadvantageous to this route. The voyage from Chicago to the Gulf of Mexico is 274 miles shorter than from Chicago to the Straits of Belle Isle by the Ottawa River. From such an Upper-Lake point, however, as Duluth the Ottawa River route is 600 miles shorter. In both cases there must be remembered the disadvantages of the longer ocean voyage from the mouth of the Mississippi.

Brief mention may be made of the two competing Canadian projects. The proposed Huron Ontario Canal from Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario has had almost as long a history as the Georgian Bay Canal project. It is not clear, as was pointed out by the United States Deep Waterways Commission, whether there is a sufficient supply of water at the summit level to feed the locks both ways. The Trent Valley Canal, which is partially constructed, affords a tortuous water connection between Georgian Bay and the eastern end of Lake Ontario by a route which is six times as long as the direct land route. The canal is being constructed as a barge route. From an engineering standpoint it has attracted attention by the construction of two large hydraulic locks, one of which has a lift of sixty-five feet. The lockage by this route is about 500 feet greater than by the Welland Canal.

While the Georgian Bay Canal is feasible from an engineering

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standpoint, the important question is its probable traffic future. The saving in time, consequent on the shorter distance, and the reduction in rates consequent thereon, may be expected to attract traffic. Taking the Panama Canal estimate, four miles per hour would be the maximum speed on the canal portion of the route. It may be noted in passing that on the Welland Canal, which has, however, some sharp curves, the speed falls below this. But on the basis of four miles per hour we find that this route would permit vessels to move from Georgian Bay to Montreal in seventy hours, giving an advantage of from one and one-half to two days over existing routes. This calculation is based, however, on the conditions affecting the existing fourteen-foot waterway by way of the Welland Canal. If the St. Lawrence route to Montreal were deepened to twenty-two feet, it is probable—subject to the traffic conditions spoken of above—that the Georgian Bay Canal would have no advantage in point of time. The deepening of the Lower Lake and river canals and the increase in the size of the locks would lessen the amount of lockage. At the same time, the longer stretches of lake and river navigation would permit higher speeds than would be possible on the northern route.

During 1907 the wheat rate from Chicago to Buffalo by Lake averaged 1.5 cents per bushel, while from Duluth to Buffalo it was 1.8 cents. During the same period the rail rate on export wheat from Buffalo to New York was from five to five and one-half cents. The Lake and canal rate by the St. Lawrence to Montreal has averaged over a period of years four and one-half cents. Since it is estimated that the Georgian Bay Canal can carry wheat to Montreal at a profit at two cents per bushel, its rate advantages are apparent.

One of the objections urged against this route is the shortness of the season. The Lake season opens with the opening of the Straits of Mackinaw about April 20th and ends about December 12th. During the season of 1906 the Canadian "Soo" Canal was open 253 days. The Georgian Bay route would be available for about 210 days out of the year. By the Welland Canal twenty-two days more navigation would be afforded. Another factor to be considered is that of wind detention in the canalized portions of the route. The high sides of steel vessels make them difficult to handle in a high wind. On the Welland

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and St. Lawrence canals there have been cases where a vessel has lost two days on a trip on account of wind detention. It must be remembered, however, that such detentions have taken place where vessels which, while capable of greater loaded draught, were unable to draw more than fourteen feet because of the limited depth of the canals. With a deeper channel by the northern route, the vessels would be stiffer and less subject to wind resistance. Against the shorter season and the possible factor of wind resistance must be set the fact that the shorter distance would permit a larger number of trips during the season.

A significant fact in the development of Lake transportation has been the increasing importance of the Upper Lakes. The great increase in the traffic passing through the "Soo" Canals is one index of this. With the development of the United States, the westward movement of grain centres and the expansion of population have lessened the transportation importance possessed by the Lower Lakes in the early days of the Canadian canal system. The northwestward trend of the wheat centre is especially significant. The result of these changes is that the shortest lines of communication from the northwest to the seaboard lie across Canada. The great development which the Canadian Northwest is undergoing further accentuates the importance of this. In the United States a fractional change in rates determines whether a section, whose grain normally moves south, shall send it to the Lakes. The States of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota, which lie within the sphere of influence of the Georgian Bay Canal, had, in 1900, a population of 18.8 millions. If one foot of a pair of compasses is placed at Chicago and the other at Duluth, the circle described with this radius will pass through Kansas City. In Canada all the provinces, with the exception of British Columbia, would be vitally interested in the Georgian Bay route. The possibilities of traffic from the Canadian Northwest are of great importance. In Manitoba the percentage of the total land area under cultivation is only 7 per cent., while in Alberta and Saskatchewan it is only 2 per cent. Recognizing that the cultivable area will fall short of the total land area, there is still great opportunity for development. The minimum estimate of the ultimate wheat yield of the northwestern provinces of Canada is 254,000,000 bushels, the maximum 812,000,000.

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Mr. G. Y. Wisner, an American consulting engineer of high repute, estimates that the canal will attract 8,000,000 tons of traffic. In 1907 the corn receipts at Buffalo were 28,000,000 bushels. In competition for a large portion of this tonnage the canal would have an advantage, and an especial advantage, over the Mississippi because of the cooler route through northern waters. In 1888 Sir William Van Horne stated that anything that would tend to lessen the cost of transportation between the northwest and the seaboard must unquestionably have a beneficial effect. As he has elsewhere graphically stated, the difficulty has been that Canada has enlarged the transportation funnel in the northwest without enlarging the spout. In his evidence before a committee of the Canadian Senate, he said that the canal should lead to the utilization of various kinds of forest products which could not, under existing conditions, stand the cost of transportation. It should also have a most favorable effect on the development of the mineral resources of the Ottawa Valley. So far as the railways were concerned, he held that the canal would create more traffic than it would take away. The power possibilities of the route are emphasized by the report of the Government Survey, which states that 1,000,000 horse-power are available along the route.

In addition to traffic in grain and lumber, a considerable part of the dairy and packing-house products of the sections of the United States adjacent to the Lakes might be attracted by the supplying of cooling and refrigerating facilities. At present there is a great disparity between the east-bound and west-bound Lake traffic. The large amount of empty cargo space west-bound gives a low rate on coal. The location of the canal would not permit it to compete for American coal. In the movement of salt, chiefly from New York points, the location of the canal would also rule it out of the running. A considerable part of the west-bound traffic might be obtained from general merchandise and package freight, of which about 1,750,000 tons moves on the Lakes, chiefly westward. In the transportation of cement the canal could also develop a large traffic. Canada manufactures over 2,000,000 barrels of Portland cement annually. Seven-tenths of the cement plants of Canada are located in Ontario; an increasing demand for cement may be expected in the Canadian Northwest. The traffic in Nova-Scotian coal may also be largely increased. At

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present over 1,000,000 tons of this coal reach Montreal annually. It would be possible to expand the demand for this coal in the West both for manufacturing and for domestic purposes.

The American people have always been interested in the development of the Canadian transportation system. In the meetings of the National Ship Canal Convention at Chicago in June, 1863, the advantages of the Canadian waterway system were recognized even by those who feared the competition. The Legislature of Illinois passed, in 1863, a joint resolution appointing commissioners to proceed to Canada to solicit the "earnest consideration and early action upon a subject of great and increasing importance of enlarged and cheaper outlets to tidewater by way of the lakes and rivers and new or enlarged canals of Canada. . . . The great avenue to the Atlantic through the St. Lawrence being once opened to its largest capacity, the laws of trade, which it has never been the policy of the Federal Government to obstruct, will carry the commerce of the Northwest through it." At the Commercial Convention in Detroit in 1865, Mr. Aspinwall of Detroit said the navigation of the St. Lawrence River and canals could be improved to give a safe and clear draught of fourteen feet to tidewater, and that this would be important to "the future welfare of the great and growing Northwest." The United States Deep Waterways Commission gave a qualified approval to the Georgian Bay Canal when it said: "The function of the Ottawa route is as a future loop line for through business when traffic conditions shall have been sufficiently developed by the Erie-Ontario route." The importance of the direct-rail route across Canada is manifested by the growth of the in-transit trade. When, partially through a belief that economic pressure would lead to annexation, there was a proposal to rescind the bonding privilege the outburst of protest from the New England and the Northwestern States showed how important the short lines across Canada were to the welfare of the United States.

From time to time arguments have been advanced against Canadian and in favor of American routes on the ground of the assumed hostile intent from a military standpoint of the former. With those who insist on looking at the matter from this standpoint it is useless to argue. But those interested in commercial development will agree that any transportation route which must be supported by a reference to a war scare thereby condemns

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itself. The low rate is the thing; and the sober sense of the American people may be relied upon to see that the only war Canada is interested in is that of commerce, not of arms.

The Georgian Bay Canal project brings up the important question of the increasing size and draught of Lake vessels. It must be recognized that, notwithstanding the shorter route, there is some question whether there will be sufficient traffic west-bound from Montreal to attract large Lake vessels in preference to the run to Lake Erie ports. In favor of the canal it may, however, be urged that the development of a large bulk of east-bound tonnage will increase the volume of ocean-going tonnage entering Montreal and that the result of this will be a large volume of inbound tonnage. Enthusiasts have claimed that not only will the canal attract the Lake type of vessel, but that it will also lead to direct voyages from the Great Lakes to European ports, thus obviating the disadvantages of breaking bulk. Although ocean voyages were made in earlier days by small sailing-vessels sailing from Lake ports, for example, the "Dean Richmond" in the fifties, this is not conclusive. The experiences in 1901 of the vessels built for the Counselman Syndicate by the American Shipbuilding Company are more in point. Although they journeyed under their own steam from Chicago and Detroit to European ports, the venture was so unprofitable that it was given up after one season. There are, it is true, vague hints that this was due to the underhand machinations of those adverse to this route. Without speculating in regard to motives, sufficient economic causes exist to explain the lack of success. The fact that the vessels could not load to their full depth of twenty feet until Montreal was reached was peculiar to the existing canal depth. In addition, they could not compete in cargo capacity with the larger vessels either of the Lakes or of the ocean. Their sailors were paid on the Lake scale of wages, which is about twice as great as the ocean scale. In addition, the vessels were subjected to high insurance charges.

In Canada the ship-building industry on the Lakes has not been greatly developed. The largest vessel so far built, one 510 feet in length, was recently launched at Fort Erie. The bonding system used in vessel construction on the American side of the Lakes is practically non-existent in Canada. In general, Canadian firms interested in Lake traffic find they can save time by

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obtaining vessels from Great Britain. Such vessels have, of course, to be built to withstand the stormy passage of the north Atlantic. The American vessel engaged in the Lake traffic can be more lightly constructed. The stronger hulls, etc., needed for the ocean voyage add about twenty per cent. to the cost. The Lake vessel, on account of the smaller amount of coal needed to be carried, has greater cargo space in proportion to size than the ocean-going vessel. In general, the latter costs about twice as much per ton of cargo capacity as the former. A combined Lake and ocean type of vessel would lack the economic advantages attaching to the more specialized types.

The Georgian Bay Canal will be a costly work. Construction through the Laurentian formation will be expensive and will take about ten years to complete. It is estimated that the canal will cost $105,000,000; even if money can be obtained at three per cent., the interest charge will exceed three millions; in addition, maintenance charges must be considered. Although Canada has greatly increased its resources of recent years, the demands upon these are also great. The Government, while favoring the construction of the canal, has not given a definite indication of the policy it proposes to adopt. The English Company, known as the Montreal, Ottawa & Georgian Bay Canal Company, which was chartered in 1894, has done considerable survey-work. It has offered to construct the work if interest on its bonds is guaranteed, the right to regulate the tolls being reserved to the Government. Pending a definite announcement of policy, the Government has reserved the right to expropriate the private company. Conditions favor Government construction and operation. The fact that the canal would be, if in private hands, a toll canal gives point to the desire for Government ownership and management. For since 1903 there have been no tolls on the through traffic of the Canadian canals. The advantage of canal development is looked for in the expansion of Canada's trade and resources, not in direct contributions to the revenue of the country from the tonnage utilizing the canals.

S. J. McLean.

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BLIND SIGHT.

BY COLONEL CHARLES WILLIAM LARNED, UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY.

In the sixth book of the "Republic" of Plato, Socrates, in his colloquy with Glaucon and Adeimanthus upon the Beautiful and the Good, observes:

> "But have you remarked that sight is by far the most costly and complex piece of workmanship which the artificer of the senses ever contrived? . . . Sight being, as I conceive, in the eyes, and he who has eyes wanting to see, color being also present in them; still, unless there be a third nature specially adapted to the purpose, the owner of the eyes will see nothing, and the colors will be invisible."

Although the "third nature" of which Socrates makes mention is Light, and the purpose of his discourse is to bring out the analogy between Light and Truth, between the Eye and the Soul, I shall take the liberty of reading another interpretation into the term, and of maintaining that the "third nature" specially adapted to the purpose of true vision is Reflection; and that from habitual lack of conscious reflective vision the majority of mankind are disdaining and dishonoring their noblest faculty.

"Blind sight" is a term I employ to designate a malady that is especially characteristic of man in general as a highly civilized being, and in proportion as he recedes from a nomadic and aboriginal state. It is an attribute of the mechanical and artificial environment in which we live; of our intense subjectivity; of our minute and narrowing specialization; of our physical deterioration; of our preoccupation; of our indifference to that which is not immediately concerned with our activities . . . of our overwork. It is also due, and under these tendencies mainly due, to the inefficiency of education which fails to train synthetically the sense organs and to endow men with expert facul-

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ties of perception. Sense training should be the first, most thorough and persistent labor exacted in primary and secondary education. The faculties of sight, of hearing, of touch, of smell, of taste, should all be developed to refinement, and every youth should possess these organs of sense and their attendant faculties as perfected tools with which to enter upon his career of development as an intelligent member of society. Some day when education shall have taken on a rational and coherent form, it will appear pathetically absurd that so many centuries of laborious servitude at the treadmill of schooling exacted of childhood and youth should have been barren of results in any way commensurate with the toil, the physical and nervous energy expended.

Blind sight means specifically the suppression of the faculty of conscious vision; the gradual atrophy of visual perception as an act of discriminating observation. It means that the camera of the eye is focussing countless pictures—of beauty; of interest; of perhaps vital importance in potential result, if noticed; of delight, if intelligently considered—upon sensitive films that are never developed. The reagents—*apprehension, comparison, judgment, reflection*—do not act; the image is not fixed upon the consciousness and filed away by the memory for future reference: and the man's intelligence is so much the poorer; his nature so much the more meagre; his range of sympathy so much the more restricted and barren, for the neglect of the bounties of God's supreme gift of vision.

Unconscious or slovenly sight exists in all degrees of development. With most it is a habit resulting from neglect. Indolent indifference to the features of the objective panorama becomes habitual and fixed, so that the conscious attention is asleep and does not act unless aroused by some special exciting cause. It is more or less a case of blind stare like that of the philosophers of Laputa who were attended by bladder-carriers to rap them over the head whenever it was necessary for them to take notice of their environment. The pity of it is that the opposite habit of conscious, attentive vision is readily cultivable and quickly responds to treatment, especially in childhood and youth.

Alas! for the weary little jailbirds of the schoolhouse who serve their terms in chain gangs in the ill-ventilated penitentiaries of the mighty Juggernaut of the text-book; conning conventions from the dirty pages; crammed with *a priori* formulas and for-

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malism and the diluted pap of the sophistry of the ages; but forbidden the free use of their faculties, and tied to the car until the natural impulse of independent observation and reflection has gone to sleep, perhaps forever! What if Nature and the objective world had been the first and chief text-book, and the teacher the interpreter and guide developing the faculties, stimulating observations, encouraging inquiry and initiative — being himself the medium of translation of formulas, philosophy and art in terms of visible and tangible fact, until the machinery of thought operates smoothly under the impulse of the natural forces of living inquiry and interest? Under such conditions, would school for the most of us have seemed a dismal drudgery; college a dull cram; and life a patchwork of arbitrary and stupid conventions, accepted without thought or discrimination?

Dear Average Man, consider with me what immeasurable opportunities elude our grasp; what a wealth of delightful, intelligent perception is lost to us; what a mass of valuable reminiscence and reference matter is missing from our stores; what a world of sympathetic understanding is absent from our comprehension; what "oodles" of fun escapes us—all through the lack of vigorous habits of observation and refined organs of sense. Why should we sell our birthright of acute sense perception for a mess of mechanical inactivities and a pulpy life of automatism? Why are we becoming more and more parasitic and morbid in our art; more sophisticated and self-conscious in our literature; less spontaneous and sincere in our social relations; less clairvoyant in our perceptions of Nature and of the natural man? Is it not mainly because we no longer see with the natural eye nor observe with the reflective brain? We take our observation at second hand out of books or newspapers, even of things under our noses, just as we take our notions of art from histories of art and the deliverances of our Ruskins, our Taines, our Winckelmanns and our Hammertons; just as we swallow open-mouthed our literary standards from literary compendiums and essayists, or are plundered of them and all the rest of our inherited conventions and beliefs by such critical Knights of the Jolly Roger as Baudelaire, Stirner, Stendhal, Nietzsche, Shaw and the rest, the bladder-carriers of our Laputa.

As we are forfeiting the power of clear and independent visual observation by disuse and the atrophy of these faculties, so we are

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losing the power of vigorous and individual judgment by relying upon others to do our thinking, and in our mental vision looking through other eyes than our own. We are awake; we hear; we read; we talk; we fancy we think, but it is only mental blind sight. By and by all our thinking will be done for us by thought syndicates; and in science, art, literature and politics, opinion will be officially determined by specialists and left at our doors with the morning paper. In religion we fancy we are independent, but it is only indifference. If we are not orthodox we accept our liberalism, our atheism, our agnosticism or our paganism at the hands of the higher and supercritics, the scientific rationalists or the classical culturists, because we are too lazy or too busy to think for ourselves. Even for vision of the objective world we will rely, in the new automatic existence, mainly upon moving pictures prepared in France and accompanied by phonographic dialogue.

It may be that we are not far from these conditions at the present moment; that in the midst of our vast and rapidly growing urban population we are rearing a race of men who hardly ever look upon the face of nature, and never with recognition; slaves of the machine and treadmill, whose opinions of men and affairs, such as they are, are moulded by the yellow sheet of crime; and whose vision of Truth rises not from a well, but from a sewer. The smattering education given by a great deal of our public-school instruction by the formal and *a priori* method of the average text-book does not suffice to give fixed ideals, or definite concepts, or exact habits of thought; it does not even teach how to study. It flutters over the surface of elementary information and leaves the child and youth possessed of disconnected clots of confused impressions. Had it taught them to use their eyes, their ears, their tongues, their fingers, to think clearly about a few things, and to know some elementary facts thoroughly, no matter how limited the range, it would have been well worth while, whether the child left the primary, the secondary or the high-grade years. To be able to see and observe—that alone is a talent more to be desired than knowledge of many books. But surely ours is the case of that people of whom it was written: "By hearing ye shall hear, and shall in no wise understand, and seeing ye shall see, and shall in no wise perceive."

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Let us consider a common instance of heedless vision, such as is habitual with the modern burgher who is "autoed" through a high-pressure round of commercial activities by an ever-increasing variety of mechanical substitutes for physical and mental effort; who never uses his eyes with vigorous attention, except in dodging auto-cars; and whose visual range of the natural universe for ten months or more of the year is a narrow streak of smoky sky at the top of a hideous architectural cañon. You, average reader, are the man. You attend a social function where you meet and talk with an interesting stranger for the better part of an evening upon topics of common interest. You part, and a few days later learn that you had been talking with the famous Mr. Nemo of Utopia. You struggle to recall, for the benefit of your wife, his personal appearance—his physical "accidents"—but you find that you have been staring at him in a conversational way for an hour without seeing him. He has been simply a mouth and a voice. If he had worn green hair, like Baudelaire, a glass eye and a false nose, your only consciousness of it would have been a vague notion that there was something queer about him.

He had lost his left ear in the arctic regions, you had not observed it; his right arm in the Transvaal, it had escaped your attention; he wore a red, white and blue striped waitscoat, you were not sure of the colors, but had an impression that his dress was peculiar; one leg of his trousers might have been scarlet and the other blue, you did not specially notice; you could not recall whether he wore a dressing-gown or a bathing-suit, but you were aware that there was something unusual about him and let it go at that. You did remember that he used an ear-trumpet, because it bored you to talk through it; and that his breath smelled of onions, because they make you sick. Further than that you cannot go with positiveness, and call upon your friend Holmes a few days after for descriptive assistance, which he renders with delightful accuracy and detail and which you wonder at and envy. In a similar state of somnambulism you take a walk through the land either alone or in company. If alone, you are thinking; if with company, talking, and your eyes are turned inwards. Certain interesting events of public importance had taken place under your nose, and you are chagrined to find that you are entirely worthless as a source of information regarding

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them to yourself or others. Interrogated about persons, localities and details, you can render no coherent description thereof—you "didn't notice." Moreover, concerning objects and localities with which you have been familiar for years, you cannot give accurate account. Your case is that of ninety-five out of every hundred of your neighbors. As a matter of fact, I doubt if one man in every hundred has the habit of conscious vision—or, in other words, habitually observes.

But in reply I hear a chorus of curt protest: "What of it? We are no longer aborigines. We do not stalk our food and skulk in fear of ambush. We are no longer dependent for sustenance and hourly safety upon keen vision and habits of minute observation. In our advanced civilization we do not need to bother our heads with objective detail. Are we all to become Sherlock Holmeses and occupy ourselves with a perpetual inventory of detective details when we converse with our friends or walk abroad? Is it of any consequence to me, when I commune on politics or immortality or small beer, that my friend wears a wig, a red necktie, a glass eye and twiddles his thumbs? Am I to concern myself in my morning walks because my neighbor has three gables and four dormers on his roof and a broken door on his woodshed? Must I be always platting topographic maps of my surroundings and scanning the stupid crowd about me for fear lest I may be the centre of an unobserved tragedy or historic episode? Does not the prevalence of heedless vision go to show that man has advanced to a higher plane of development where the eye of the hawk and of the mountain-goat is no longer an essential to safe and satisfactory existence?"

To which I make categorical reply: The prevalence of heedless vision, my somnambulant brother, does *not* go to show our independence of precise and intelligent observation, any more than the prevalence of astigmatism and near-sightedness goes to show that sound eyes are a matter of indifference. I am firmly convinced that we should be, as nearly as possible, Sherlock Holmeses in our powers and habits of observation; and the more so in proportion to the increase of specializing tendencies in our activities.

How your neighbor looks, what he wears and does, *is* of concern to you as a matter of human interest and may be of importance as a matter of fact; and that as many as possible of the

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images which your eye is focussing upon your retina of the beauties and activities of the objective world of which you are a part shall be intelligently apprehended *is* of vital moment to your happiness, your understanding, your practical interests and your usefulness as a member of society. You never can be certain that the glass eye and the twiddling thumb will not, by some freak of circumstance, be your eye of destiny or the *pollice verso* of your undoing. Fortune and disaster often have turned upon more trivial determinants; and the broken woodshed door in the next yard is as like to be the gateway of your triumph as the portals of the millionaire magnate to whom you reverently kowtow. Always and everywhere it is the keen observer—the man of the conscious eye that notices—who achieves and arrives.

The master observer of modern time, the protagonist of scrutinizers, was the sagacious and versatile Franklin. Ever on the alert to note, compare, reflect, deduce—nothing escapes his clear, conscious gaze. He was always master of circumstances and of conditions; always self-poised; ever controlling affairs through first-hand observation of phenomena and of men. His eye is always awake. He is incarnate attention; and, as most of the world is asleep most of the time, he and all other Franklins, great and small, are the bell-wethers of their times.

Franklin is the antithesis of the intellectuals of the schools. Everything he does or says has the freshness of originality; the aroma of Nature instead of books; the objective, and not the subjective, flavor. He, the homely son of the tallow chandler and "sope-boiler," walking up Market Street to his destiny, with his pockets stuffed out with soiled underwear and his soul in his eyes; this inquisitive vagabond of science; this homespun, wary diplomat; this pervasive eye—dazzled and amazed men of every school of learning who, with one accord, acclaimed him master.

His prophetic and comprehensive insight into ultimate causes of scientific phenomena is always voiced in the simple phraseology of objective fact. It is the eye speaking. Whether speculating upon the luminiferous ether, the nature of the electric fluid, the properties of matter, the theory of earthquakes, the cause of smoky chimneys, or running with note-book in hand after a whirlwind, his thesis is written in the language of form. He is the man not only "diligent in business," but in vision, who

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stands before kings and the wise men of the earth. He "arrives" completely.

But aside from sordid or material advantages, how about the glories of infinite being around and above you; the procession of beauty, of life, of phenomena, of humanity, moving in endless variety of interest before your bovine stare while you chew the cud of the dull, apathetic ruminant? Franklin sympathized and enjoyed supremely also.

Here are the results of some simple tests made, with a view of ascertaining the acuteness of conscious vision, formal judgment and formal memory of a class of eighty-six young men. These results do not, of course, represent an average condition in this regard, since the test is, in the first place, a conscious one; and next, the men, whose ages ranged from twenty to twenty-three years, had had courses of technical graphics and topographical reconnaissance, and had been for two and a half years under the exacting discipline of the Military Academy which stimulates alertness and habits of accuracy. The tests, as I interpret them, gauge fairly well the effect of the habit of attentive or slovenly vision as a constant factor in the personal equation.

Nine geometrical blocks of wood, about fourteen inches in height and painted white, were placed on a dark table against a dark background and distinctly separated. These were screened by a curtain which was quickly raised and lowered at a signal. The class sat in seats ranged after the manner of those in a clinic. The table was strongly lighted from a large skylight. The curtain was raised about six seconds for exposure of the objects, and the test was for number and form.

Fifty-eight gave the correct number; eighteen, one less; three, one more; one, two more; one, three less. None correctly described the form of all; three described eight; eight described seven; twenty-seven, six; seventeen, five; sixteen, four; seven, three; two, two; one could describe none.

The man who could remember nothing of form probably exhausted his five seconds in the effort at enumeration. It will be observed that apprehension of number was much more generally accurate than judgment of form, which was to be expected. As to form, the bulk of the class, fifty-two, were able to discriminate between and remember from but four to six out of

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nine in a glance of six seconds. But six seconds is a considerable period in which to concentrate the attention upon a few very bright and simple objects, such as a cube, cone, pyramid, etc.; and this, be it remembered, was an exceptional group of men trying to do their best.

The second test was for conscious, reflective observation, and was taken by eighty-three men. Two white blocks, rectangular in shape and somewhat larger than an octavo volume of medium size, were placed on a dark table, on one side of which was an instructor and on the other a group of five or six men. The instructor, using either his right or left hand, took one of the blocks and moved it with moderate quickness in three different positions with reference to the other—the movements taking about one second each to execute. The men were required to manipulate the blocks in the same manner and order.

Twenty-seven moved the block correctly; thirty-two used the wrong hand; thirteen made wrong movements; ten, wrong hand and movements; one placed the block incorrectly.

In this test, therefore, but one-third were accurate witnesses of a very simple operation carefully watched.

The third test was for partly unconscious observation, and is more interesting in this connection since it tends to show the actual state of the individual as regards his habit of blind sight. In the ordinary work of the class in the course of building construction, it had been sent to examine the structural detail of a simple building—a gun shed—with special reference to its working drawings. A few days later a set of ten observation questions was submitted for answer. "How many windows in the entire building and how located?" "How many bays in the building?" etc. Seventy-seven men took the test. One made over ninety per cent.; four, over eighty per cent.; five, over seventy per cent.; twenty, over sixty per cent.; nineteen, over fifty per cent.; fifteen, over forty per cent.; six, over thirty per cent.; five, over twenty per cent.; two, over ten per cent. In round numbers, about half the class remembered about half of the simple and conspicuous features of an object which they had been on a special trip to examine two days before; and six-sevenths remembered less than seventy per cent.

In another test for wholly unconscious observation but ten men out of eighty-three could recall the number of windows in an

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academic room in which they had passed about three hundred hours during a year's attendance; and not one could describe their location or character with entire correctness. Fourteen could not answer simple questions regarding the physiognomy of their parents; and twenty-six failed similarly as to their roommates. One is irresistibly reminded of the oft-told but capital story of the professor of physics who undertook to demonstrate to his class the difference between *seeing* and *observing*. Taking a graduate-glass, he proceeded to fill it with a certain liquid. He then inserted a finger in the liquid and afterwards in his mouth. The students were requested to file past the table, accurately to repeat his action and return to their seats, which they did; each man receiving from his finger in restrained silence a horrible dose of asafœtida, which he was careful to see his successor should not miss. When the class had all resumed their seats with pallid faces and sinking stomachs, the professor, after scanning them sadly for a moment, remarked, with a weary smile: "Gentlemen, you did not *observe* that the finger I put in the graduate was not the finger I stuck in my mouth."

Any demonstration of the universality of this growing atrophy of attentive vision would be futile were the infirmity incurable or beyond prevention. But it is, on the contrary, easily prevented and cured. It is in almost every case an acquired habit which in childhood originates by reason of the absence in our civilization of the incentives to acute vision which are normal to the life of the human being as an active, self-sustaining animal; and it develops progressively as the subjective and artificial conditions of modern life assert their influence in general affairs. The child is a keener observer than the adult. The habit of attention and acute observation can be aroused by persistent effort and made natural and spontaneous. Pleasure in the stimulated vision, and the sense of vastly increased powers of observation, of broadened range, of new beauties, of heightened interest, will suffice to keep it alive and repay the effort.

The story of Houdin, and his marvellous development of visual acuteness and memory by practice, is well known; but an instance of a similar achievement in this country, through causes akin to those of nomadic life, was new to me when recently described by an eye-witness associated with the actors. A gentleman of the Corps of Cadets, whose home is in Texas and who has

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lived of choice the cowboy life on his father's ranch, tells me that the herders become so expert in their scrutiny of cattle, so keen-eyed and observant, that in buying cattle on the hoof they often rely for enumeration upon a glance at the herd as they ride past; and that their passing estimate practically never varies more than two or three from the actual number in herds of from fifty to one hundred; and that in much larger herds, of from two to five hundred, their estimates will preserve the same proportion of accuracy. For instance, a buyer will say as he rides through a cattle-range, "I will take that herd of seventy-five; this of one hundred and fifty." Or, after a short scrutiny, he will assert, "You have five hundred head on that range over there." However, in buying a herd as large as this, they are usually strung out and counted, although the result rarely differs from the original estimate by more than two or three per cent. In some cases this ability to estimate is carried to a higher degree of accuracy even for very large herds. In the early seventies, before the day of weighing-scales and railroads, cattle-buyers in the Southwest would buy cattle at so much per hundredweight from their owners. This estimate of weight was based on what the cattle would weigh after they had been driven two, three or four hundred miles to the Kansas City market. Nevertheless, the error would amount to only a few pounds, not enough to affect their profits.

Charles Goodnight, of Goodnight, Texas, and owner of the famous buffalo herd bearing his name, related the following of a famous negro he knew. When the round-up time came, they would place this negro in an advantageous position and drive past him the herds belonging to different men. All these cattle, except the calves, had their owners' brands. Later, when these calves, after having been mixed up in the corral, were taken out to be branded, he could tell which brand to put on each from having noted at the time to which cow each belonged.

This astonishing acuteness is even more clearly demonstrated in their detection of diseased or defective animals in herds which they are inspecting for purchase. I am informed that in this discrimination they equally rely upon a rapid visual sweep of the cattle while grazing, the inspector merely riding through the herd. A sound herd is appraised as such and accepted at a glance; and, similarly, at a glance any deviation from uniform perfection is

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remarked, and a demand for special examination is made on the spot. But this special examination is as astonishing in its expertness as the others. There is no dismounting for individual scrutiny. The herd is simply run past the purchaser at a gallop, and the defective heads are indicated with unerring certainty as they pass. These statements the narrator was at pains to substantiate by corroborative testimony from friends on the spot actively associated with the business of cattle-raising.

Let any one who is sceptical regarding my contention that observant vision, if cultivated in childhood, would be prolific of most important and far-reaching results in after-life, not alone in vastly increased mental acuteness, but in enhanced capacity for pleasure, a widened range of sympathy and a more profound insight into the life of Nature and Humanity—let such a doubter take himself in hand, and for a time each day divert the ruminative current of his thought from subjective to objective contemplation. Begin by a determination to observe your interlocutor, dear Average Man, upon all occasions. Endeavor to recall the details of physiognomy, of dress, of carriage, of habit both of friends and of casual acquaintances; finally, of passing strangers. From that pass to action and associations. Next, carry your range of visual acumen into Nature in your daily walks. Upon your return from your various excursions take a few moments for the preparation of a brief mental memoir and itinerary—develop your negative and file it. Presently your interest will be very much stimulated, and you will be considerably astonished not only at the enormous amount of significant matter that has hitherto wholly escaped you, but at your latent capacity to seize and retain it. Finally, you will discover that the old habit of blind-sight has departed; that in its place has developed the more natural and fruitful habit of live-sight; and that through the window of your soul there will flow a stream of living forms, facts and feelings to inhabit the treasure-house of your memory, instead of the train of pallid ghosts, vague and speechless, that vanished in oblivion and left behind only the damp and chilly residue of a fog.

CHARLES WILLIAM LARNED.

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WOMAN'S RIGHT TO GOVERN HERSELF.

BY MRS. OLIVER H. P. BELMONT.

To our *living* population—to those awake to the requirements of the hour—to women and men beyond the A B C of life, I do not presume to address this article. In all ages there has existed a class of human beings who, either wanting in intellect, hampered by inheritance or unconscious of their own strength, have remained under the yoke of circumstance. Government and social reforms, burdened by this passive type of humanity, have carried it onward, through no efforts of its own, but only by the power of the ever-rising tide of evolution.

Drones are found in all classes, existing by the brain development of those who act, or clamoring for help from those who give. To them cling the barnacles of worn-out fallacies, and from them come the cries of ludicrous protestations against the achievements of civilization. It is this incongruous mass that opposes Woman Suffrage, the movement which demands that the political standard of woman shall equal that of man. The brain which has evolved its own material and stands untrammelled by the past, when confronted by new propositions will approximately solve the situation. It is from men of such intellect that women expect the ballot.

Of what use is this education, these possibilities for woman in business, in all the activities of life, her work for men, her strength and devotion, her courage, her relentless energy, if in the end she is to meet this barrier. You are not free citizens of the United States, you are bondwomen, for you must bear servitude and obligation without representation. You are of inferior capacity, therefore incapable of self-government. In the already polluted political arena you would but add to the chaos that exists.

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Woman is told that Motherhood is her sphere; that children will bless her, comfort her old age, that the husband will forsake all others and cling to her; that the home, the centre of the family, will represent the idealism of purity, and man the head of it all will be the protector of woman. My sisters, you who read this, if such has been your lot, if God in His goodness has given you this fulfilment, beware how you neglect those women who stand *without*. If in this great battle of life you do not need the power, the strength, that Suffrage will give, what right, you, in your plenty, have you to raise your voice against the cry of the needy? You of the luxurious, educated class, know well, or if you do not, shame upon you! that the working-woman vitally needs the help of the ballot. Men at the head of large systems of industries, you know, and know well, that you are not the protectors of women!

I, who am capable of seeing the light ahead and know the wisdom that suffrage will bring to women, and far greater still, to men; I, rebelling at the necessity of an argument for Woman Suffrage; I, with more than humiliation, with a great repulsion —I might almost write with shame—agree now, in a few brief sentences to respond to some of the antediluvian objections made by men and women of this country and this century.

Are not men the protectors of women, and if so why give them a vote?

You and I know there are fathers, there are brothers, there are husbands and there are sons standing out from the ranks of the past and of the present, who have protected and do protect the women of their own family. But what has the question to do with this handful of self-centred men? What is the King without his subjects? Of what value are Generals with no army? How long would stand your railroad magnates without the toilers of their vast systems?

I shall write the truth, and men to whom it comes home may cry out against me, but the overworked, underpaid woman, the mother toiling for hungry children, the drunkard's wife, the woman of the scarlet letter, the wife replaced by one younger and fairer, and saddest of all, the unprotected girl, these will bear me out. They came to you with the faith of earlier days, and one by one the idols of your fairy-tales tottered from the pedestals of untenable sophistry, and with the broom of ex-

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perience they swept the shattered pieces of man's boasted protection into the realms of inevitable realism.

Sisters, I ask you to put behind you these fallacies of the past; discard vain dreams; rely upon yourselves; have valiant aims, believing that your rights are the same as those of man. Encourage attainable possibilities. Believe that Motherhood should be no greater than Fatherhood, that the wife should not be the unpaid servant of the husband, but both must be equal. As in man's life the idea of the Father does not predominate, making him subject to it, even so must the idea of Motherhood be in woman's life.

Centre not your whole life in the life of others, for has not this made your past slavery? Full of courage, with faith in yourself, go forth as an equal in the race. Let the life of the united home be to you as it is to man—a part, but not the whole of existence. Let no obligation, no sacrifice which he does not share be yours. You do not belong to him nor he to you. You are co-workers. The mind must feed on facts rather than on dreams, for you face an age of realism.

Women of this century, build your castles no longer in the azure skies of vanishing theories, but on earth, with wills of steel. Draw from your intellect and the wisdom of your observation the great lesson that each must stand alone. By what right do you forever cling to man? Is his road not hard enough without this? His promise to bear *your* burdens, made perhaps in all sincerity, he cannot keep.

View for yourselves the fields strewn with the myriads of these fallacies; with broken lives, with shattered faiths! Is this where you, too, will tread? Have you learned no lesson from the past?

Look backwards! Remember a face of resignation, stifled sighs, a smile that did its best to beam, an atmosphere you could not penetrate—something of grief, of sorrow, above your knowledge. Do you not see your mother, the victim of old dogmas as to "woman's sphere"?

Does a realistic public, unmoved by sentiment or emotion, demand the cold, hard facts in its consideration of the vital question now before it: Shall woman have a voice in her own government? I am asked to present the other side of an argument opposing this in the August number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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But how is one to answer an argument which from beginning to end contradicts its own statements? For instance: "All the efforts of the Suffragists for sixty years have not aroused resistence except spasmodically." (Page 169.) "The Suffragists have aroused a spirit of unrest among all classes of women." (Page 165.)

Another: "More women have their individual bank accounts in the United States than in any country in the world." (Page 159.) "Woman's dependence on her husband is her safeguard, the rock on which her ease and security rest." (Page 166.)

Again: "Universal Manhood Suffrage is the crowning result in the long evolution of Government." (Page 162.) "The question is, Should we not have more restriction rather than add to our mixed voting population?" (Page 161.)

"Man forms the *only* basis on which any Government *can* rest. The *man* is the rock on which the Government is built, whatever its form. Woman never was and never will be." (Page 160.) "Motherhood will still be Motherhood, whether the state is a democracy or a despotism. . . . The state depends on it as it depends on the rain that falls or the sun that shines in the heavens." (Page 162.)

"Instinct and tradition have made men the protectors of women. This is a natural law." (Page 160.) "Supreme Court Justice Brewer has said, 'Woman must be protected from the greed as well as from the passion of men.'" (Page 165.) "The American man feels that he is and always must be the protector of his 'women folk. . . .' He is willing to give women everything they ask. But if he is going to protect women he will not give them the 'ruling power.'" (Page 169.)

In other words, no woman shall have the right to protect herself, no matter how much she may desire it; she has simply got to be protected whether she wants to be or not. As for the "woman folk" who happen not to have any man to protect them —they must get one. And yet when they see the kind of protection some women receive from some men they are inclined to prefer for themselves what we are glad to have the "antis" admit is a "ruling power."

How is one to answer such a mass of contradictions and misstatements? The quotation used from Judge Lindsay's interview to the effect that "woman suffrage had not helped much in

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Colorado" was repudiated publicly by him as soon as it was printed. In this same interview the Judge characterized as "an outrageous statement" and "a deliberate lie" a report on woman suffrage in Colorado by a special investigator sent out by the League for Civic Education.

The assertions as to the bad effects of woman suffrage in Colorado and the other States where women vote are practically all anonymous and cannot be traced to their source. When somebody of prominence is thus quoted he at once denies it, as did Judge Lindsay, and a little later former Governor Buchtel of Colorado. The mass of signed and authorized testimony from those four States as to the excellent results of the woman's vote is overwhelming. This may be had in printed form at the National Suffrage Headquarters in New York and should be examined by those who want the facts. There is nothing whatever on which to found the declaration, "The thoroughly unprejudiced opinion is that woman suffrage has proved to be utterly futile." United States Senator Heyburn of Idaho, where women have had the franchise thirteen years, writes: "The general tone of political affairs in the State has been improved and greater care in the selection of candidates has resulted from woman suffrage. Between sixty and seventy per cent. of the women vote at the general elections." United States Senator Borah, of the same State, says: "I would be entirely unwilling to see woman suffrage abolished. . . . I believe it has been distinctly beneficial and the influence exerted, while not as great as is sometimes claimed, is, in so far as it goes, entirely on the side of cleaner politics and better government." The present Governor Brady declares:

"Politically, the effect of woman suffrage has been immeasurably uplifting and beneficial. Men who, before woman suffrage was adopted, attempted to control the political situation through organizations perfected in saloons and at headquarters of political bosses have been deposed from leadership, and the standard of citizenship has been raised. Through the enactment of this principle of justice to women into the law of the State better men have been induced to become candidates for office, administration of governmental affairs has been constantly placed in more honest hands and the affairs of the commonwealth have been benefited. Legislative activities have been along wiser and cleaner lines. Laws have been passed of remedial and reformatory character, and the beneficial results of woman suffrage are everywhere noticeable. Women who are elected to office prove among the most efficient servants of the

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people. Woman suffrage has been an unqualified success not only in Idaho, but in all Western States adopting the principle. I am heartily in favor of the wide expansion of woman suffrage."

Former Governor Hunt says: "The woman vote has compelled not only State conventions, but more particularly county conventions of both parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office." Former Governor Steunenberg, after expressing himself in still stronger terms, said: "In Idaho women are to-day the same loving wives, kind mothers and capable home managers that they always have been; nor has there been the least belittling of the sex in the eyes of the men, nor any falling off in that tenderness and respect which men universally accord to women. There is not the slightest interruption of family ties." The Chief Justice and all the Judges of the Supreme Court signed a statement unqualifiedly endorsing woman suffrage in Idaho, and this testimony might be continued indefinitely.

The same is true of Utah, where women voted seventeen years while it was a Territory. The State constitution, framed in 1905 by men alone, both Mormons and Gentiles, provided for woman suffrage. It was voted on by men alone and carried by an immense majority. Former United States Senator Sutherland, a Gentile, wrote: "Woman suffrage has raised the whole tone of our politics. As large a proportion of women as of men vote. It has never tended in the slightest degree to create a sex party. Women have taken a particularly keen and useful interest in educational affairs. It has been just as beneficial in Salt Lake City as in the rural districts." Governor Cutler said last year: "Instead of being unsexed or debased, the women have been broadened and bettered intellectually and socially through the study and practice of civic affairs entailed by the franchise. Politically the influence of women has been on the side of peace at the polls and the selection of better officials. Socially it has resulted in a more chivalrous regard for women and the unquestioned acknowledgment of their equality with men and their right of participation in affairs of State. With the experience Utah has had we should not think for a moment of returning to the male suffrage system."

Women voted twenty-one years in Wyoming as a Territory, and woman suffrage was made a part of the constitution for Statehood in 1890 by practically universal consent. After forty

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years' experience there is not a shred of testimony against it. The Legislature has repeatedly endorsed it, as has every Governor, Attorney-General, United States Senator and member of Congress. The Justices of the Supreme Court have many times given emphatic and unqualified testimony in its favor, that it tended "to purify elections and promote good government": and that it "made the women self-reliant and independent, without detracting from their womanly and domestic graces." Present Governor Brooks writes: "I consider woman suffrage of great benefit to any commonwealth. There is no argument which can be made against it." United States Senator Clark says: "I have lived in Wyoming twenty-five years . . . and I have never known either party in State, county or municipal affairs to nominate a man who was notoriously immoral or corrupt. This fact I attribute largely to women voting. . . . Nobody who has the interest of the State at heart has ever desired or suggested a change." United States Senator Warren writes: "During all the forty years as large a percentage of women have voted as of men. . . . The exercise of the right of suffrage has in no degree lowered or injured the standing of the women in our State. They are intelligently active in public affairs, but withal as womanly and devoted to home and family as their sisters in States where the privilege is not enjoyed. In fact, there is nothing in our experience in Wyoming to warrant the opinion that woman suffrage has been unwise, but, on the contrary, it has elevated public morals and has been a material factor in maintaining the good local government we enjoy."

The seekers after evidence against woman suffrage centre all their efforts on Colorado alone, ignoring the other three States where women vote. For this reason its advocates have collected more testimony from that State than from all the others combined—in leaflets, in pamphlets, in volumes—a whole number of this magazine could be filled with it. Every Governor of whatever party, and other State officials, every United States Senator and member of Congress; all the Justices of the Supreme Court and other Judges; the presidents of the colleges, bishops and presiding elders, and many presidents of women's organizations, have declared in print over their own signatures, again and again, their approval of woman suffrage based upon its practical working in Colorado. The noble old Senator Henry

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M. Teller, when about to retire to private life, said: "I am a firm believer in woman suffrage. It has worked admirably in Colorado and been a great benefit to the public. . . . Women are much more discriminating as to the class, standing and character of candidates than men. I have closely observed the operation of woman suffrage in my own and neighboring States and am now more strongly in favor of it than when the law was enacted." During the present year he said: "We have had woman suffrage in Colorado since 1893. If the question were re-submitted to the voters to-day the opposition would be negligible. It works as well in Denver, with its over 200,000 inhabitants, as in the country districts . . . and has produced none of the evils which its opponents predicted." The present Governor Shafroth, after giving the strongest favorable testimony, said: "Do women want equal suffrage? Ask the women of Colorado. Submit the question to those who have tried it, and scarce a corporal's guard will be found to vote against it. . . . The contention that good women will not vote is flatly contradicted by the returns from the four equal suffrage States."

The recent article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW said: "Anti-Suffragists have ample evidence to prove woman suffrage in those States a dismal failure." Let them produce the evidence properly signed and authenticated. They never have done this, they never can do it, because such evidence does not exist. It is idle to say that all those distinguished public officials only speak in favor because they fear to do otherwise. If this were the case a mere word of approval would be sufficient and their splendid testimony would be unnecessary. But if the vast majority of men and the vast majority of women disapprove of equal suffrage, as the "antis" declare, then it ought to be very popular to speak against it and very easy to repeal the law.

Other statements in the article are equally without foundation. "Women are not fitted for holding office." If this is true, why did the anti-suffrage association in which the writer of that article is an officer petition Governor Hughes of New York to put women in such official positions as were under his control? In the complete testimony above quoted, high tribute is paid to the efficiency of the women officeholders, which is omitted for lack of space. Wyoming, Colorado and Idaho have had continuously women State Superintendents of Public Instruction,

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and the four States have elected many county superintendents, treasurers, recorders, etc. Colorado and Utah have had a number of women legislators. Men are in the majority—why do they elect women if "unfitted"?

"Able-bodied men would have to be called on to enforce the votes of women." Men do not enforce their own votes through being "able-bodied." Even in the most critical periods of our history—as in 1876—there never has been an attempt to compel by force the acceptance of the majority verdict. The State makes no connection whatever between ability to fight and the right to vote. Invalids and cripples have the same suffrage as the physically sound. In time of war women in many ways contribute their full share towards the protection and defence of the country, besides furnishing the soldiers. In time of peace they pay their proportion toward the maintenance of the police and fire departments, constables, sheriffs and all who enforce the law. In every respect the service of women to the State is fully equal to the service of men and it just as fully entitles her to a voice in the affairs of State.

It is an idle pastime for the anti-suffragists to set up a man of straw labelled "Taxpayers' Suffrage" just for the satisfaction of knocking it over with the cry "undemocratic." They are the last persons to use that word, standing, as they do, for the most undemocratic movement this country has ever seen. The National Suffrage Association has always been uncompromisingly against any form of limited suffrage for women. The small amount of taxpayers' suffrage which has been conferred by Legislatures on women in a few States is simply for questions of special taxation, which are submitted only to such persons as pay taxes. The article had a good deal to say of the great wisdom of the forefathers in denying the ballot to women, but ignores the fact that this same wisdom gave it only to taxpayers.

The article reiterates the stock assertion of the "antis" that the ballot will not raise the wages or improve the condition of the wage-earning women. John Mitchell, former President of the United Mine Workers of America, and the highest authority on questions of labor, said a few days ago that, "If women could vote the wages of women in Government and State employ would be raised and legislation improving their condition in many ways would be quickly effected." Within the present

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year a convention of his organization composed of one thousand delegates declared unanimously for woman suffrage. The American Federation of Labor, 2,000,000 strong, every year adopts a resolution demanding woman suffrage "as necessary to the protection of the industrial interests of not only women wage-earners, but of men as well." Over twenty State Federations of Labor and scores if not hundreds of working-men's organizations, national and international, have taken similar action, and the conventions of the Women's Trade Unions never fail to do the same. The public must judge whether these vast bodies of wage-earners or the handful of women "antis," most of whom never earned a dollar, are the better qualified to speak on this subject. There would be just as much sense in saying that the suffrage is of no advantage to the working-man as to say it would be of none to the working-woman.

Nobody is frightened at the attempt to connect woman suffrage with Socialism. Compare the statement that "Woman suffrage *cannot* succeed without the aid of Socialism" with the indisputable fact that in not one State in our Union nor in one country in the world where complete woman suffrage exists was it obtained through Socialism or the Socialist party. Naturally the platform of the Socialists includes a vote for every citizen. A few of the active workers in the Suffrage Association believe the doctrines of Socialism; a large majority do not, and there is no more official connection between the two organizations than between Socialism and any other organized body, some of whose members accept the Socialist ideas. The revolutionary quotations cited were never made at any regular woman-suffrage meeting.

Neither is there the slightest connection between woman suffrage and divorce. The laws governing divorce are no more lax in those States where women vote than in the most of those where they do not. The two Dakotas and Oklahoma, for instance, are noted for easy divorces, and women there have only a fragment of school suffrage. Indiana and also California lead in the proportion of divorces and women in those States have not a shred of suffrage. Wyoming, Utah and Idaho are among those having the smallest proportion and women there have the complete franchise. There is not a solitary instance on which to found the constant assertion of the "antis" that woman suffrage leads to divorce.

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Other points in the article may be just as thoroughly refuted as those already mentioned, but space will allow only one more reference. It declares that public opinion has approved and sanctioned the demands of women for all the privileges they now enjoy, and that the reason they do not get the suffrage is because all the sixty years' effort has not succeeded in arousing large numbers of women to demand it or public opinion to sanction it. On the contrary, the demand of women for higher education, better laws and all the rest was infinitesimal compared with the demand they have made and are making for the suffrage. The public sentiment which now favors the enfranchisement of women is so great contrasted with that which approved those other concessions that there can hardly be a comparison. The reason they succeeded is because they required simply the decision of a board of trustees to open the doors of a college, the willingness of employers to experiment with women's work, an act of the Legislature in changing a law which few persons had any object in opposing. From all these lesser gains the suffrage is as far apart as the poles. It means the altering of State constitutions, a fundamental change in the Government itself, whose ultimate results the wisest cannot foretell. No Board of Trustees, no legislative body, can bring this about, but every individual voter in the entire State can pass upon it. In secret he casts his vote and behind it is the prejudice of the ages, the natural disinclination to share one's authority. Opposed to woman suffrage are the powerful liquor interests of the country, the party "machines," the immense moneyed corporations. Superficial, indeed, is the judgment which would place this great political and economic movement on a level with the minor concessions that have already been made to women!

A struggle still lies before us; some men will stand by our side, but the hardest of it must be made by women alone, and to them we say: Demand your suffrage. Hold it with the hand of wisdom; compete with men, but only on the platform of their best endeavors. Rise above unremunerative, unrecognized servitude. Be a strength to your children, never a subordinate. The world is calling for the great half force, so long and so wrongly ignored, and in this union of man and woman lies a future of a wondrous whole.

ALVA E. BELMONT.

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THE GATEWAYS OF LITERATURE.

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS.

LITERATURE is now what it was in the past, and it will be in the future what it is now, infinitely various and unendingly interesting. We can venture to project the curve of its advance in the years to come only after we have grasped what it is today; and we can perceive clearly its full meaning in our own time only after we have acquainted ourselves with its manifold manifestations in the centuries that are gone. True is it that literature is the result of individual effort and that its sublimest achievements are due to single genius; and yet it is racial also, and it is always stamped with the seal of nationality, which is the sum total of myriads of individuals. Literature is ever marked with the image and superscription of the people whose ideas it expressed and whose emotions it voiced. Races struggle upwards and establish themselves for a little while and then sink back helpless; mighty empires rise and fall, one after another, each believing itself to be destined to endure; and it is mainly by the literature they may chance to leave behind them that they are rescued from oblivion. What do we really know about Assyria and about Babylon? Where are the cities of old times? Why is it that we can see Sparta only vaguely, while Athens towers aloft in outline we all recognize? The massive monuments of Egypt persist through thousands of years, but the souls of the dwellers in the valley of the Nile are not known to us as we know the souls of the Hebrews, whom they took captive and whose sacred books reveal to us their uplifting aspirations and their unattained ideals. We can extract not a little light from the laws of Rome, but not so much as we can derive from the lighter writings of the Latins; and the code which is known as the novels of Justinian does not afford us as much illumina-

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tion as the realistic fiction of Petronius. The many ruins of Rome are restored for us and peopled again with living men and women, only when we read the speeches of Cicero, the lyrics of Horace and the letters of Pliny.

Of all the liberal arts Literature is the oldest, as it is the most immediate in its utility and the broadest in its appeal. Better than any of its sisters is it fitted to fulfil the duty of making man familiar with his fellows and of explaining him to himself. It may be called the most significant of the arts, because every one of us, before we can adjust ourselves to the social order in which we have to live, must understand the prejudices and desires of others and also the opinions these others hold about the world wherein we dwell. Literature alone can supply this understanding. "It is impossible," so Dr. W. T. Harris has reminded us, "for a man to live in a community when he has no knowledge of the world-view of his fellow men and when he does not know the things that make up their daily consciousness." The other arts bring beauty into life and help to make it worth living; but since mankind came down from the family tree of its arboreal ancestor, it is Literature which has made life possible. It proffers freely that which smoothes the path before us, lifting us up as we climb and sustaining us when we stumble. It is the swiftest and the surest aid to a wide understanding of others and to a deep understanding of ourselves. It gives us not only knowledge, but wisdom; and thereby it helps to free us from vain imaginings as to our own importance. Ignorance is always conceited, since it never knows that it knows nothing; and even knowledge may be puffed up on occasion, since it knows that it knows many things; but wisdom is devoid of illusion, since it knows how little it ever can know.

It is not in the barren annals of a nation that we can most readily recapture the soul of a race. Rather is it in those lesser works of the several arts in which the men of old revealed themselves unconsciously and yet amply. The records of the historians and the codes of the lawgivers are assuredly not to be neglected, but they are not more significant than the unpretending efforts of forgotten artists,—the painters of the Greek vases, for instance, and the moulders of the Tanagra figurines. The idyls of Theocritus are not less illuminating than the orations of Demosthenes or the tragedies of Æschylus.

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Literature is precious for its own sake, but it has ever an added value from the light it cannot help casting on the manners and customs which disclose the indurated characteristics of a people. The unmistakable flavor of the Middle Ages lurks in the ethereal-ized lyrics of the German *minnesingers*, no less than in the more mundane *fabliaux* of the French satirists. We cannot open a book, even if it shelters only evanescent fiction, aiming solely to amuse an idle hour, without opening also a window on a civilization unlike any other; and he would be a traveller of marvellous ability who could make us as intimately acquainted with the simple rustics of the Black Forest, with the primitive peasants of Sicily or with the deserted spinsters of New England as we find ourselves after we have read a volume or two by Auerbach, by Verga or by Miss Wilkins. Some of us there are who love literature all the more because it can catch for us this local color, fixed once for all, and because it can preserve for us this flavor of the soil, this intimate essence of a special place and of a special period.

"The real literature of an epoch," so Renan declared, "is that which paints and expresses it," and such is the real literature of a race also. Perhaps the epoch is most completely painted and expressed when the author is interpreting the life that is seething about him, dealing directly with what he knows best, as Plautus has preserved for us the very aroma of the teeming tenements of the Latin metropolis, as Molière has limned for us the "best society" of France under Louis XIV, and as Mark Twain has set before us the simple ways of the Mississippi river folk. But, after all, this does not matter much; and even if a writer is handling a theme remote from his own experience, he is still painting his own epoch and expressing his own race, although he may not be aware of it. No man can step off his shadow, whatever ineffectual effort he may make. However violently he seeks to escape, he is held fast by his heredity and his environment. "Hamlet" is a tale of Denmark, "Romeo and Juliet" is a tale of Italy and "Julius Cæsar" is a tale of ancient Rome,—but Shakspere himself was an Elizabethan Englishman; and these tragic masterpieces of his were possible only in the sceptr'd isle set in the silver sea in the spacious days of the Virgin Queen. Racine borrowed his stories from Euripides, and he persuaded himself that he had been able to make Greek drama live again;

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but his "Phèdre" and his "Andromaque" are French none the less, and they are stamped with the date of the seventeenth century. So absolutely do they belong to the period and to the place of their author that Taine insisted that these tragedies of Racine could best be performed in the court costumes and in the full-bottomed wigs of the reign of Louis XIV, since only thus could they completely justify themselves.

This intimate essence of nationality is evident not only in the thoughts that sustain the work of the artist and in the emotions by which he moves us; it may be discovered also in his style, in his use of words to phrase his thoughts and to voice his emotion, in the pattern of his composition and in the rhythm of his sentences. The way in which he links paragraph to paragraph may lead us back to his birthplace and the stock from which he sprang. We can catch the accent of his ancestors in the rise and fall of his periods; and sometimes it seems almost as though his many forefathers were making use of him as their amanuensis.

Consider Shakspere and Bacon and set them over against each other. They were contemporary Englishmen, alike and yet unlike, alert and intelligent and energetic, wise both of them, yet with a different wisdom, masters of expression each in his own fashion, and possessed of the interpreting imagination. When our attention is called to it, as Mr. Havelock Ellis has lately done, we cannot fail to find that Shakspere, "with his gay extravagance and redundancy, his essential idealism, came of a people that had been changed in character from the surrounding stock by a Celtic infolding, and that Bacon, "with his instinctive gravity and temperance, the suppressed ardor of his aspiring intellectual passion, his temperamental naturalism, was rooted deep in that East-Anglican soil which he had never so much as visited."

To seek to seize these subtler differences, due not so much to nationality as to provinciality, if the word may be thus applied, is not to inquire too curiously, for it is to advance in knowledge and to draw a little nearer to that secret of genius, which must remain ever the inexplicable result of the race, the individual and the opportunity. There is not a little significance in Mr. Ellis's suggestion that we can perceive in the pages of Hawthorne "a glamor" of which "the latent aptitude had been handed on by ancestors who dwelt on the borders of Wales," whereas Renan came from a family of commingled Gascon and Breton descent,

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so that "in the very contour and melody of his style the ancient bards of Brittany have joined hands with the tribe of Montaigne and Brantôme." It was Comte who declared that "humanity is always made up of more dead than living."

There is ever profit in this effort to seize the potent influence of heredity and environment, even upon the genius who may seem at first glance to be the least controlled in the exuberance of his personality. We have grasped a true talisman of artistic appreciation when we can compare the practical common sense and the austere gravity of the Roman with the inexhaustible curiosity and the open-minded intelligence of the Greek, and when we contrast the restraining social instinct of the French with the domineering energy of the English. But however interesting may be this endeavor to perceive the race behind the individual and to force it to help explain him, there are other ways of seeking an insight into literature not less instructive.

We can confine our attention, if we please, to a chosen few of the greatest writers, the men of an impregnable supremacy. We can neglect the minor writings even of these masters to centre our affection on their acknowledged masterpieces. We may turn aside from the authors individually, however mighty they may be, and from their several works, however impressive, to consider the successive movements which one after the other have changed the stream of literature, turning it into new channels and sweeping along almost every man of letters, powerless to withstand the current. We may, perhaps, prefer to abandon the biographical aspects of literature to investigate its biological aspects, and to study out the slow differentiation of the several literary species, history from the oration, for example, and the drama from the lyric. Or, finally, we may find interest in tracing the growth of these critical theories about literary art which have helped and which have hindered the free expansion of the author's genius at one time or at another. There are many different ways of penetrating within the open portals of literature. All of them are inviting; all of them will lead a student to a garden of delight; and which one of them a man may choose will depend on his answer to the question whether he is more interested in persons or in things or in ideas.

There is unfading joy in a lasting friendship with a great writer, whether it is Aristotle, "the master of all that know," or

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Sophocles, who "saw life steadily and saw it whole," Dante, who "wandered through the realms of gloom," or Milton, the "God-given organ-voice of England." Such a friendship brings us close to a full mind and to a noble soul. Closely akin to this devotion to one of the mighty masters of literature is the concentration of our interest on a single literary masterpiece. We may prefer to fill our ears with "the surge and thunder of the Odyssey," or to recall the interlinked tales "of the golden prime of good Haroun al Raschid." We may find ample satisfaction in following the footsteps of one or another of the largely conceived cosmopolitan characters, figures which have won favor far beyond the borders of their birthplace. Some of these heroic strugglers live only in the language which they lisped at first, while others have gone forth to wander from one land, one literature, one art, to tarry for a while in other lands, other literatures and other arts.

After all his travels, Ulysses abides with his own people; the gaunt profile of Don Quixote still projects itself against the sharp hills of Spain; and Falstaff is at home only in the little island where he blustered boldly and breezily. But Faust is a seedling of one soil transplanted into another, where he struck down deeper roots, only to tower aloft again in the land of his origin. And Don Juan, the lyrical hero of a mystical Spanish legend, touched at Italy, before he was received in France, where he was transformed into the implacable portrait of "a great lord who is a wicked man." And from the French drama "Don Juan" strays into English poetry and into German music; so Faust, born obscurely in Germany, has ventured out from English poetry into German drama and French music. It is well for the arts that there is and always has been free trade in their raw materials and that no custom-house can take toll on the ideas which one nation sends to another to be worked up into finished products. From race to race, from century to century, from art to art, there is unceasing interchange of intellectual commodities; and no inspired statistician can strike the balance of this international trade whereby men are enabled to nourish their souls.

Nor are these brave figures the sole travellers whose wanderings we may trace from one literature to another, subduing their native accents to the new tongues they are taught. Less lofty creatures have also a varied career in many climes. It has been

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suggested that the drama of the future will take for its heroine the woman with a past; but she is no novelty in the theatre, and the Medea of Euripides has emotions as ill regulated as the Fedora of Sardou, the Magda of Sudermann or the Second Mrs. Tanqueray of Pinero. It seems as though art, like nature, was "careful of the type." Even humbler characters may bear a charmed life; and the intriguing slave of Greek comedy was taken over by the Latins, to revive after a slumber of more than a thousand years in the Italian comedy-of-masks and in the Spanish comedy of cloak-and-sword, from which he stepped forth gayly to disguise himself as the Mascarille and the Scapin of Molière, and as the Figaro of Beaumarchais, of Mozart and of Rossini.

Although many lovers of letters may be tempted to devote themselves mainly to the masters and to the masterpieces of literature and to the perennial types which literature has seen fit to preserve through the ages, there are other students who will find their profit in fixing their attention rather on the several movements which have modified literary endeavor. Even to-day one cannot help perceiving the persistence of the irrepressible conflict between the ideals of the Greeks, who sought for beauty always, and the ideals of the Jews, who set aloft duty. Hellenism swept swiftly from Athens to Rome and then to all the shores of the Mediterranean, until it spent its force and finally found itself desiccated into Alexandrianism. Then, in his turn, the Hebraic spirit, softened by Christianity, spread abroad from distant and despised Palestine until it attained to the uttermost boundaries of the wide-flung Roman Empire. The influence of these contending ideals is still evident in this twentieth century of ours, especially in the obvious cleavage between the artistic aspirations of the races of Romance origin and those of the peoples of Teutonic stock.

Certain of the less admirable consequences of a narrow acceptance of the Hebraic doctrines revealed themselves in the misguided asceticism of the Middle Ages, and thereby made easier the early triumphs of the Renascence, which was in its essence an effort to recapture the joyous liberty of the Greeks. The new learning and the new discovery of the wisdom of the ancients was indeed a new birth for the arts, and for literature not the least. Man came into his own once again, and he was in haste to express

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himself. He drew a long breath and felt at last free to live. As was inevitable, he pushed back the limits of liberty until he sometimes attained an unworthy and unwholesome license. His new knowledge made him arrogant and intolerant; and he was ready to reject all restraint. Yet in time he was able to recover not a little of the harmony and of the proportion which had characterized the great Greeks, even if he never quite attained to their simplicity and to their sympathy.

Then the reaction came at last and just as Hellenism had shrivelled up into Alexandrianism, so the Renascence in its turn dried up into the empty and formal Classicism of the eighteenth century, with its code of rules for every art. Classicism lost its grasp on the realities of life and it cheated itself with words. It kept the letter of the law and refused to conform to its spirit. It sterilized the vocabulary of verse. It left the poet with no fit instrument for the wireless communication of emotion. In England it gave us the poetry of Alexander Pope and the criticism of Samuel Johnson; and in France it codified the regulations which were responsible for a long succession of lifeless tragedies. And by its emphasis upon legislation to curb literature it brought about the reaction of the Romanticists, who succeeded only in the negative work of destruction and who failed lamentably to establish their more positive contentions.

Romanticism had its rise contemporary with the American revolution and with the French; and in all its manifestoes there rings the tocsin of revolt. It promulgates its declaration of the Rights of Man in the domain of art; and it tends to a stark individualism leading straight to the anarchy which refuses to acknowledge any check upon the caprice of the moment. It exalts the illegal, the illegitimate and the illicit. It glorifies the outlaw and the outcast; and it relishes the abnormal rather than the normal, the morbid rather than the healthy. The violence and extravagance of the Romanticism of Victor Hugo, for example, made inevitable the Realism of Turgenef and Howells. The principle of art for art's sake, which the French Romanticists took for a battle-cry and which is stimulating if it is properly understood, is pernicious when it is misread to mean that the artist has no moral responsibility. Life is influenced by literature as much as literature is influenced by life. Many a suicide in Germany was the result of Werther's self-pitying sorrows; and

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many a young man in France took pattern by Balzac's sorry heroes.

As instructive as any study of these successive literary movements is an inquiry into the several literary species, with due consideration of their evolution, their permanence and their occasional commingling one with another. There is a special pleasure in tracing the development of oratory, for example, down from the days of the Greeks to our own time, deducing its essential and eternal principles, and weighing the influence of Demosthenes on Cicero and of both on Bossuet and on Daniel Webster. There is an equal profit in observing how history has been able to separate itself from oratory on the one hand and from the epic on the other. A most interesting illustration of the progress from the heterogeneous to the homogeneous is to be found in the evolution of Athenian tragedy, which included at first much that was not strictly dramatic. It developed slowly out of the lyric; and in the beginning it contained choral dances, epic narratives and descriptive passages. Amid these confused elements it is not always easy to seize the essential action of the drama. But as Greek tragedy grew it came slowly to a consciousness of itself, and it eliminated one by one these non-dramatic accessories, until at last we find a story shown in action and represented by a group of characters immeshed in an inexorable struggle. A parallel development took place a little later in the Greek comic drama, whereby the lyrical-burlesque of Aristophanes became the more prosaic comedy of Menander; the earlier conglomerate of incongruous elements discarded one by one its soaring lyric, its personal lampooning and its license of political satire, while at the same time it steadily strengthened the supporting plot, with the appropriate interrelation of character and situation.

No literary species has had a more unexpected and a more unprecedented prosperity than the novel in prose, which in the nineteenth century became the most popular of forms, essayed by many a writer who possessed only a small share of the native gift of story-telling. The novel is almost the only one of the literary species that the Greeks of the golden age did not develop and carry to a perfection which is the despair of all later men of letters. They seem to have cared little for prose fiction; and when they had a story to tell they set it forth in verse, inspired by the

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muse of epic poetry. To-day that forsaken maiden can find work fit for her hands only by laying aside her singing robes and condescending to bare prose.

Two of the foremost of modern masters of prose fiction, Cervantes and Fielding, have claimed that their stories are of a truth epics in prose. On the other hand, Mr. George Meredith seems to consider the novel to be derived rather from comedy; and there is no question also that the expansion of prose fiction was aided by the delicate work of the seventeenth-century character-writers and of the eighteenth-century essayists. We may, if we choose, declare that the series of papers in which Steele and Addison sketched the character and the career of Sir Roger de Coverley was, in fact, the earliest of serial stories. In literature, as in life, he is a wise child who knows his own father; and a writer may have supposed himself to be a nameless orphan when in reality he is the missing heir of many honorable ancestors.

Prose fiction may be the offspring of the epic and it may have received a rich legacy from the essay; but it has grown to maturity under the guardianship of the drama, and in the closest comradeship with both comedy and tragedy. The earlier novelists, Cervantes and Le Sage and Fielding, had all begun as playwrights; so also had the later Hugo and Dumas. The influence of Corneille and Racine on Madame de La Fayette is as indisputable as the influence of Molière on Le Sage and of Ben Jonson on Dickens.

And since it has become the dominant literary form, the novel has in its turn served as a stimulant to the drama. There is no difficulty in tracing the impression made by "Gil Blas" on the "Marriage of Figaro" and by "Götz von Berlichingen" on "Ivanhoe." Nor can any disinterested inquirer dispute that the social dramas of Dumas fils and of Augier are deeply indebted to the "Human Comedy" of Balzac, and that the comedies of Mr. Pinero and Mr. Henry Arthur Jones owe much to the mixture of humor and pathos to be found in Dickens and Thackeray.

Once when an American painter in Rome was told by a purse-proud picture-buyer that she did not pretend to know anything about art, but she did know what she liked, the irritated artist could not repress the swift retort, "So do the beasts of the field!" To know what we like is only the beginning of wisdom; and we ought to be able to give good reason for the faith that is in us. The French, who are subtly curious in their use of words, make

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a useful distinction between a *gourmet,* the delicate taster, and a *gourmand,* the gross feeder; and the distinction holds in literature as well as in life. The wise Goethe tells us that "there are three classes of readers,—some enjoy without judgment, some judge without enjoyment; some there are who judge while they enjoy and who enjoy while they judge." It is within our power always to gain admittance into this third group and to attain a reasoned appreciation of the authors whose writings we relish.

Indeed, we may even acquire an open-mindedness which will carry us a little farther until we can understand how it is that sometimes we admire what we do not personally enjoy, and that on other occasions we may for the moment find pleasure in what we do not greatly admire. We can learn to control our likings; and in time we can correct our instinctive tendency to let our personal preferences erect themselves into eternal standards. Of course these personal preferences must ever be the basis of our ultimate judgments, since we are born always with a bias in favor of one school or of the other. Our native tendency is toward the ancient or toward the modern, and we are by instinct either Romanticists or realists, whether we are conscious of this prejudice or not. Our opinion may be as the leaves that change color with the revolving seasons, but our principles are rooted in us. It is fate, rather than free will, which chooses for us in which camp we find ourselves enlisted. Before we were born it was decided for each of us, once for all, whether we should delight in the massive simplicity of the Attic dramatists with their unerring union of a content of high value and a form that seems to be inevitable; or whether we should revel rather in the rich luxuriance and bold energy of the Elizabethans,—the one moving majestically with the sweep of a glacier, and the other boiling over with the impatience of a volcano.

But even if we cannot help being partisans, we ought to strive to master our prejudices so that we may learn at least to understand the spirit of the masterpieces wrought by those with whom we are not in accord. The critic needs not only insight and equipment; his task calls also for sympathy and for disinterestedness. The code of criticism is not as the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not; it changes from race to race and from epoch to epoch; it is modified by the successive movements of human feeling and of human thought. Man's place does not loom as im-

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portant as it did a few centuries ago; and we are now aware that the universe was not built for him alone, even if the sun is still a light to his feet by day.

The scholars of the Renascence, secure in their inheritance of Greek wisdom, had a sublime belief in the comprehensiveness and in the certainty of their knowledge; but now in this new twentieth century of ours we moderns,—

> "Whom vapors work for, yet who scorn a ghost,
> Amid enchantments, disenchanted most,"

—we are at last aware that we are but peering through a chance crack in the dark wall which shuts us in, and that we can only glimpse a fragment of knowledge, glad that even so little is granted to us. We have surrendered the hope of ever attaining final truth; but none the less are we still nerved by the longing for it. Perhaps there are a few who would echo Lessing's proud declaration that he valued the privilege of seeking the truth above the actual possession of it.

Criticism must needs lag behind creation, even if literary criticism may be also creation itself in its own fashion. As Professor Mackail has asserted, "a sharp line can be drawn between the artist and the critic where they work in different materials, as in the criticism of painting or of music," but "no such line can be drawn in literary criticism; for the critic works in the same material and his criticism, so far as it is vital, is also a work of art." Yet, even when the critic is indeed a creator of literature, he cannot do his work until after the lyrist and the dramatist and the orator have done theirs. It is on them that he feeds and from their unconscious practice he derives his reasoned principles. In fact, it is only when the earlier impulse of poetry was beginning to slacken a little that the critic came forward to undertake his parasitic task. He felt it to be his duty—as indeed it is—to apply to the present the standards of the past; and it was long before he was willing to recognize the possibilities that these standards might be found in the living languages as well as in the dead.

Brunetière was, perhaps, the most suggestive of recent literary critics, abounding in fertile generalizations and applying to art ideas supplied by science. Here he was following Taine rather than Sainte-Beuve, who was more keenly interested in the idiosyncrasies of individual authors than in the larger movements of

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literature. Sainte-Beuve prefers to give us "biographic psychology"—to borrow Taine's apt phrase. Yet even in criticism there are few real novelties; Sidney's "Defence of Poesy," for example, is imitated from the Italians: Taine's theory of the influence of heredity and environment is amplified from Hegel; and the objections which adverse critics have brought against the veracious realism of Mr. Howells are curiously akin to those that Petronius urged against the Roman poet, possibly Lucan, who had ventured to write an epic in which there was less inventive exuberance and more interpretative imagination. Gaston Boissier even discovered a vague premonition of the struggle-for-life theory in Saint Augustine's "City of God."

Time was when man lived in a cave until he learned how to put together a wooden frame for a more commodious dwelling; and after a while he filled up this framework with the bricks he had found out how to bake, and traces of this temporary device are still evident in the decorations of the later and loftier temples which the Greeks made of marble. Only of late has man gone back to the primitive frame, putting it together now not with wood, but with wrought steel; and the sky-scraper, however modern it may seem to us, is in reality a reversion to the most ancient type of building. A similar spectacle greets us in all the arts, especially in the art of literature,—the new is ever the old, even when it presents itself with all the latest improvements. Genius reveals itself when the hour is ripe; it does its work in its own fashion; it comes and it goes again, leaving us the richer. There have been many men of many minds, speaking in their several tongues; but literature is one and indivisible. It has a voice for every mood. It cheers and sustains; it inspires and uplifts; it lights the path for all of us. It passes the flaming torch from sire to son, Greece to Rome, Rome to the Renaissance, the Renaissance to the modern world.

"All passes. Art alone
Enduring stays to us;
The Bust outlasts the throne,—
The Coin, Tiberius;

"Even the gods must go;
Only the lofty Rime
Not countless years o'erthrow,—
Nor long array of Time."

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

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THE COTTON TAX AND SOUTHERN EDUCATION.

BY DAVID Y. THOMAS.

AN Act of Congress approved July 1st, 1861, provided that a tax of one cent a pound should be collected on all cotton held or owned by any person on or after the first day of October, 1862, except such as was held or owned by manufacturers of cotton fabrics on that day. March 7th, 1862, the tax was raised to two cents a pound. In 1866 the committee on revenue actually reported favorably on a proposition to raise the tax to five cents, but this was defeated, largely through the opposition of the New York Chamber of Commerce. However, the Act of July 3rd, 1866, which purported to reduce taxes, raised the cotton tax to three cents. March 3rd, 1867, the tax was reduced to two and one-half cents, and on February 3rd, 1868, it was abolished altogether on all cotton raised after 1867.

At various times since 1871 bills have been introduced in Congress having in view the repayment of the money collected on the above-mentioned Acts. One introduced by the Hon. Frank Clark, of Florida, in the Sixtieth Congress provides, "That the proceeds of the tax on cotton illegally collected," etc., shall be repaid by the Treasurer of the United States to the original payers upon approval of their claims by the United States Court of Claims. The claimants are to be allowed five years in which to file their claims. After that any surplus remaining in the Treasury from this fund is to be paid over to the States in which those who originally paid such unclaimed sums resided and is to be used by them for the benefit of rural education.

The bill has some defects and some excellent points. One defect is the assumption that the tax was "illegally collected." The evident meaning is that the tax itself was illegal. In the only

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case affecting its validity the legality of the tax was affirmed in the lower court and by the Supreme Court, though the vote was equally divided in the latter. The main attack on its legality is that it was a direct tax and was not apportioned as the Constitution directs that all such taxes shall be. To the layman it is hard to see why it is any more of a direct tax in theory than the tax on carriages, whiskey, cigars or oleomargarine. In practice, however, it is altogether probable that the producers paid more of this tax than did the consumers. That it was a tax on exports cannot be seriously maintained. Still, the fact remains that a great many people have always considered it illegal.

But, whether legal or not, the question is worthy of consideration whether the money collected under the tax ought not to be returned. The tax can hardly be defended on the grounds of equity. It was intended to operate and did operate on one particular section. Several of the States never paid any at all, and some of those which did were brought under the operation of the law only because some parties purchased cotton on which the tax had not been paid. Doubtless they deducted the amount of the tax from the price paid, knowing that they would have to pay it. By far the larger part of the tax came from the lower South. Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee and South Carolina paid $58,000,000 out of a total of $68,000,000. In 1867 the corn crop of the United States was worth $610,948,390; the wheat crop, $421,796,460; the hay crop, $372,854,670; yet all of these were tax free, while cotton, worth $201,470,495, paid a tax of $22,500,947.77. The tax of the three cents levied in 1866 outdid the ten-per-cent. tax of the Duke of Alva. In some instances it amounted to as much as thirty per cent.

In 1861 a tax of $20,000,000 was levied on lands and dwellings and was apportioned among the States according to population. There was no question about the legality of this Act; yet, thirty years later, the amount collected under it, less cost of collection, $14,000,000, was returned as a gratuity to the States whose citizens had paid it. The fact that the tax had operated on only one section of the country, the seceding States paying very little, undoubtedly was one cause of the repayment. May not the same principle be applied to the cotton tax? At the time the South was paying this tax—only about $3,000,000 was collected before the close of the war—it was also paying its share of all other taxes.

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There is one ground on which the cotton tax may possibly be justified in public law—as a punitive measure. Certainly the conqueror has a right to impose his own terms on the conquered. But this will not be seriously urged in justification of the cotton tax. The aim after the close of the war was, or should have been, to pacify, not to irritate. Besides, the punishment was already severe enough in the destruction of so large a part of the wealth of the South.

Those who hold that the tax was an indirect one may urge that it was shifted by the producer to the consumer, and that it would not be just now to repay it to the producer simply because he paid it in the first instance. Some taxes may appear indirect in theory, but prove very direct in practice because not easily shifted. The tax on most manufactured goods can be shifted. This is particularly true with reference to whiskey, cigars and oleomargarine, but it is far from being the case when the tax is levied on raw materials in the hands of the producer. Generally the producers are ill acquainted with market conditions, have to part with their goods as soon as possible, and their great number makes concerted action almost impossible. Certainly the producers of cotton, whether carpetbaggers or natives, believed that they were paying the tax, if we may judge from their loud protests, both official and unofficial. Southern governors and legislatures early began to cry out against it, and their protests found an echo in the North. The New York Chamber of Commerce declared that the North should not take advantage of the South in the days of her weakness to discriminate against her principal industry.

The proposition to return the tax to the original payers is one of doubtful feasibility. As forty years have passed, the most of them are dead. Also the dangers of fraudulent claims would be great. No attempt was made to return the land tax to the landholders who paid it, the disposition of it being left to the discretion of the States.

A much better plan for the disposition of the cotton tax would be to return it to the cotton States and direct that it be used by them for the benefit of education. Possibly it should be confined entirely to the rural schools, thus benefiting the very people from whom originally collected. As a matter of course, in the distribution each State will receive the entire amount

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collected within its borders. The sum collected outside the South, amounting to about two million dollars, should be distributed among the cotton States in an equitable ratio.

The South needs this help. As illustrating the injurious effects of the Civil War and of the years immediately following, the census shows that among the native white males of the South the proportion of illiteracy was much higher in 1900 in the age group forty-five to fifty-four than in the next older and next younger groups. The children who ought to have been in school during the period of the cotton tax were deprived of that privilege by the war and the years of grinding poverty which followed in its wake. Many of them are still living and have children and grandchildren whom they would be glad to see given better educational facilities than are now at their command. What more befitting act of justice could be thought of than to direct that the tax collected from the cotton-growers of the sixties shall go to the rural school fund of those States in which collected? Both whites and blacks paid the tax and would now share in its benefits. The subject of agricultural education is now attracting considerable attention in the South and several States are experimenting along that line. It may be found advisable to use this fund for the advancement of agricultural training in the schools, but that is a matter of detail which can be worked out when the tax has been returned.

Almost without exception the funds would go where most needed. In 1904 Georgia, which would get $11,897,094, had 277,865 children between ten and fourteen years of age, of whom 63,329 were illiterate, or 227.9 in every 1,000. For the accommodation of her 789,939 children between five and eighteen years of age she had 7,082 schoolhouses, or one to every 111 children and to every 8.4 square miles of territory. To keep these schools open 118 days 10,342 teachers were employed, or one to every 78 children, and were paid an average monthly salary of $27.81. In the other Southern States the salaries ranged from $25.96 for males and $23.20 for females in South Carolina to $55.24 and $43.27 in Texas. The per capita wealth of Georgia was $488; the smallest in any of the States under consideration was $403 in Mississippi; the largest, $841 in Texas. The school revenue of Georgia for each child was $2.74, or $1.83 for each $1,000 of wealth. The lowest was $1.92 in Alabama, or $1.29 for each $1,000 of wealth; the highest, $5.37 in Texas, or $2.13

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for each $1,000 of wealth. In the distribution of the cotton tax Alabama would be entitled to $10,338,072; Texas, to $5,505,401.

It will be interesting to compare conditions in the South with the same in some of the Northern States. In 1904 Massachusetts had 229,330 children between ten and fourteen, of whom only 1,547 were illiterate, or only 6.7 in every 1,000. In Ohio the showing was still better, 4.9 in every 1,000, though it was not quite so good in New York and Illinois. For her 673,690 children of school age Massachusetts had 4,289 schoolhouses, or one for every 157 children and to every 1.9 square miles of territory. To keep these schools open 185 days she employed 14,741 teachers, or one to every forty-eight children, and paid them each month, males $145.48, females $55.37. As a source on which to draw for the support of these schools, she had a per capita wealth of $1,672, and from this she derived a revenue of $24.40 for each child of school age, or $3.20 for each $1,000 of wealth. New York does even better on both items.

It may be urged that the South is not doing as much in proportion to her wealth as the North, and there appears to be some ground for this contention. It has just been shown that, while Alabama raises only $1.29 for each $1,000 of wealth, Massachusetts raises $3.20. But, while by this rate Alabama secures only $1.92 for each child, Massachusetts, by a rate not quite three times as great, secures $24.40 for each child, a sum twelve times as large as that realized in Alabama. The Southern man has more children to provide for and less wealth with which to do it. In Alabama and Georgia for every 100 of population there are 33.4 school children, but in Massachusetts only 22.2.

Of late there has been considerable discussion as what is the most suitable memorial to erect to the memory of President Lincoln on this the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth. Lincoln sprang from the poor whites of the South and devoted his life to the task of setting the negro free. What more fitting memorial could be conceived than the creation of a permanent fund to advance the intellectual freedom of these two classes? Will not our common country set aside $68,000,000 for this purpose? We will call it the Lincoln Memorial Fund for the Advancement of Southern Education, a monument more enduring than bronze and far more serviceable than any splendid Appian Way leading to a battle-field.

DAVID Y. THOMAS.

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THE ESPERANTO CONGRESS AT BARCELONA.

BY EDWIN C. REED.

THE most significant facts in regard to the recent Fifth International Esperanto Congress, held in Barcelona, Spain, September 5th to 11th, were the steps taken to change the nature of these congresses to that of a more formal world organization, and the increased amount of official recognition accorded to the congress from governmental sources.

Heretofore the congresses have had no real legislative power, composed, as they were, not of authorized representatives of the Esperanto societies, but merely of such persons as chose to attend. Necessarily any votes passed could merely take the form of recommendations to the Esperantists at large and were in no case binding. To be sure, there has existed since the congress in Boulogne-sur-mer a Language Committee, which elects the Academy whose duty it is to guide and control the natural evolution of the language. But these have been rather "close corporations" than duly elected and generally supported institutions.

Since the international language has now well passed the experimental stage, and weathered without damage the storm of dissension which has rendered all other international language schemes ephemeral, the desire for another step forward, namely, for the establishment of a truly representative body, proportionally elected by the Esperantists of the world, was from the first apparent in Barcelona. To this subject was devoted the greater part of the business sessions of the congress, and of the International Committee on Congresses. In the final business meeting it was voted that an International Esperanto Council be created to which the national organizations will elect one councillor for each thousand members. This council is especially interesting,

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since it will be the first organization in the world which is of a legislative character, made up from all nations, yet able to conduct all its business in one language. This "federation of the world" is the natural result to be expected from the spirit of organization, so necessary to the growth of any movement, which has recently permeated the whole Esperanto world. In nearly every country there have been founded during the past year organizations similar to the Esperanto Association of North America, which has its central office in Washington, D. C., and subfederations in many States, with local societies and individual members scattered from Alaska to Panama.

As an indication that the congresses are developing a more serious nature, it is noteworthy that an entire general session of this Fifth Congress was allowed Professor René de Saussure, of the University of Geneva, in which to explain the objects of the International Scientific Association, its Central Office in Geneva, and the progress being made by it on the technical vocabularies. The work on these vocabularies has been done with the aid of specialists representing all national languages, and includes words for not only the more technical sciences, but also all branches of human endeavor or thought which have their own vocabularies in the national tongues. It was announced that the material for the first volume of this work is ready for the press. Professor de Saussure's report of the International Congress of Psychology, which met in Geneva during August, was especially interesting to the members of the Barcelona Congress, since in this assembly of psychologists Esperanto had been used as an official language with marked success, as it also was a month later at the International Medical Congress in Budapesth.

The increased recognition given to the Fifth Congress from official sources was extremely gratifying to all Esperantists. Alfonso XIII of Spain had in a most gracious manner accepted the honorary presidency of the Fifth Congress and, although unable to be present, sent an extremely cordial telegram to the opening session. In response to the telegram of thanks from the congress a second message was received in which the King placed himself quite definitely on record in favor of the international language. Besides King Alfonso each of his ministers held honorary office in the congress, and through the Spanish ambassadors the Minister of Foreign Affairs had requested various nations to be officially

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represented. Three Governments — the United States, Belgium and Norway—responded, and only an unexpected occurrence prevented the attendance of Japan's representative. The American representatives were Mr. Herbert Harris, of Portland, Maine, and the writer.

In spite of the somewhat strained relations between the Catalonian and the Spaniard, which could be remarked by the close observer or by one having intimate acquaintances among them, the Governor and the Captain-General of the province of Catalonia, who are appointed by Madrid, the Mayor of the city, and the President of Deputies of the province, who are elected by popular vote, united in welcoming the Esperantists.

On Saturday afternoon preceding the congress Dr. Zamenhof, the author of the language, General Sebert, Member of the French Institute and president of the International Congress Committee, Rector Boirac of the University of Dijon, president of the Esperanto Academy, with eight other officials representing the congress, were escorted by Spanish cavalrymen through the flower-bedecked "Ramblas" and narrow streets of old Barcelona to make ceremonial calls upon each of the four named dignitaries. Although the most cordial greetings were extended at each reception, the short address in the Palace of Deputies by the President of Deputies was especially interesting. He greeted the Esperantist officials warmly, extolled their aims and the internal idea of Esperantism, the idea of universal brotherhood, and accused diversity of speech and consequent misunderstanding as the cause of most of the war and unrest in the world. His remarks were the more significant, since the spirit of general hostility felt by the Catalonians toward the Castilians, which is one of the main reasons for the revolutionary riots, is in large part due to the linguistic dissension caused by the enforced use of Spanish and the suppression of the Catalonian tongue.

The first illustration of governmental friendship toward the congress came to most of its members at Port Bou, the town of entry from France. An official who speaks the international idiom had been detailed to assist the Esperantists in the usually troublesome customs inspection, and the exhibition of a congress ticket immediately secured his courteous attention and help.

An elaborate reception for Dr. Zamenhof and the international leaders had been planned for Sunday morning. The civic and

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military authorities had promised their co-operation toward making this a demonstration equal to the entry of royalty into the city. Because of the trouble which had unfortunately occurred a few weeks before the congress the Governor feared that any street demonstration would give too favorable an opportunity to the sympathizers with the revolutionary movement, who, under cover of this, might again start a riot. He therefore felt compelled to veto the outdoor portion of this programme. This attitude of precaution could be noted throughout the week and rendered the congress a much more quiet proceeding than would otherwise have been the case. No street demonstration or display of flags, except of the Esperanto banner, with its green star, was allowed. The recent political demonstration had its effect upon the attendance of the Congress likewise. A great many who had planned to be present were naturally fearful of entering a city so recently under martial law, and many were convinced that owing to the state of affairs the congress would not convene at all. In view of these facts, the presence of thirteen hundred "Congressists" testified eloquently to the strength of Esperanto. Yet, although shorn of much of its splendor and pomp, the reception on Sunday morning was not lacking in enthusiasm or dignity when Dr. Zamenhof entered the *Palacio de Bellas Artes*. After a brief address to the Esperantists, Dr. Zamenhof was escorted to the platform of the grand auditorium. Here he was greeted by the Mayor of Barcelona, who presented to him the freedom of the city, and in behalf of the municipality offered to him a handsome gold and enamelled badge.

Later in the day religious services for several denominations were held in Esperanto. Since no services except the Roman Catholic may be legally announced here, no services whatever were mentioned in the programme issued and published, those which were arranged for being informally called to the attention of the Esperantists. It chanced that the chief service for Catholics and the largest Protestant service were each conducted for their international audiences by Englishmen, Father Richardson and Rev. J. C. Rust.

On the following morning the Fifth International Esperanto Congress was formally opened by Dr. Mybs of Dresden, who had been the president of the preceding congress. He surrendered the gavel to Señor Fred. Pujulá y Valles, President of the

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Catalonia Federation of Esperantists, who presided during the week of the congress. After a short address of welcome from Señor Pujulá Dr. Zamenhof congratulated the Esperantists upon the great progress made during the past year, and the seriousness and steadfastness with which the movement has advanced, in spite of the difficulties always attending the introduction of a new idea into the world. The address by the author of the language was immediately followed by a few words of greeting presented by the official Government representatives.

The delegates from Esperanto organizations, whose addresses were next upon the programme, represented thirty-three nations or linguistic divisions. Among these speakers were gentlemen from Brazil, England, Holland, France, Belgium, Austria, Cochin China, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Argentine Republic, Poland, Turkey, Samoa, Switzerland, as well as representatives of many non-national languages and dialects and even such idioms as Basque and Finnish. This was to many the most interesting of the congress meetings; the secretary introduced the speakers by name and nationality, and the ease with which men from so widely scattered countries could be understood in Esperanto was remarkable.

But the general business sessions of the congress on Monday afternoon, Thursday morning and all day Saturday, together with the special sectional and committee meetings, were a far more convincing argument that this language is a living one. Practically no speech could be prepared in advance for these, as no one could foresee the trend of argument or the business to come before the meetings; yet no more difficulty of expression or understanding, no more hesitancy in speech or manner, could be observed than if the whole proceeding had been in English in a gathering of Americans. In one session the discussion concerning the form to be taken by the proposed international organization was as sharply debated, as warmly and as spontaneously supported and attacked, as if each speaker were using his native tongue. It is remarkable how very short a time in the Esperanto atmosphere is needed to produce this readiness of speech and comprehension.

As at Dresden a year ago a demonstration was given of the benefit of the international language in the work of the International Red Cross. In Barcelona, however, it was upon a considerably larger scale. For the "battle-field" there had been

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chosen a large section of the park, so arranged that the congress members could easily see the performance. Within the enclosure were the tents, ambulances, stretchers and other apparatus for the work of attending the wounded. An entire battalion of the Spanish Red Cross was present, while the physicians, nurses and "wounded" were selected from every nation represented at the congress. The exercise was under the direction of General Priou, President of the Red Cross Society of France, and Dr. J. M. Alvarez Miranda, and under the control of Señor Montaner, Provincial Delegate of the Spanish Red Cross in Catalonia. Those acting as wounded lay where they were supposed to have been shot, were picked up, taken on stretchers to the temporary station of surgeons upon the battle-field and a hasty diagnosis made by examination, and especially by conversation with the wounded, who were presumably enemies. The surgeons gave treatment, bandaged the wounds, filled out the diagnosis card in Esperanto with the information obtained, including the name, regiment, etc., of the "wounded," while those playing the rôle of soldiers too severely injured to walk were taken in the Red Cross ambulance to the hospital outside the field. This entire exercise was conducted in Esperanto, save that a few non-Esperantists had been asked to take part in order to afford a demonstration of the practicability of "Esperanto Red Cross," a small guide-book of phrases printed in Esperanto and the national language of the user. The exercise was such a markedly successful exhibition of the utility of the language in this great field that it is to be hoped General Priou will be able to assist the American Red Cross in a similar demonstration at the Sixth Congress.

During the week special meetings were held by the scientists present, whose desire was that every scientific magazine should give with each article of merit at least a short résumé in Esperanto. It was reiterated that the man of science to-day must know what is being published in his line of work throughout the world, and that the time devoted to language study or consumed in waiting for a possible translation in his native tongue is valuable time lost not only to the scientist, but often to the world at large.

During the entire congress no mention was made of any of the so-called "reforms." The possibility of any revolutionary changes in the language, which heretofore has been given by some as an excuse for not learning Esperanto, is no longer to be considered,

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for the attitude of practically every supporter of the international-language idea is in favor of the natural evolution as in a national language controlled by the Academy in order to prevent the growth of "dialects."

The attitude of the entire city toward the congress made the week a memorable one. The street-cars carried Esperanto signs indicating their destination, the newspapers gave very full news of the congress in Catalonian or Spanish and also a short résumé in Esperanto of the happenings of the day and the advance programme. The merchants, hotel proprietors and servants solicited and conducted business in the language. The begging musicians soon learned to play Esperanto airs, and the newsboy without a few words of Esperanto was a *rara avis*.

In the closing session of the Congress the American representative formally presented an invitation in behalf of the Esperanto Association of North America to hold the Sixth International Esperanto Congress in Washington, D. C., during the third week of August, 1910. This invitation was accepted.

The Sixth Congress will be under the direction of the Esperanto Association of North America, with the co-operation of the Washington Chamber of Commerce. It is planned to arrange the voyage in such a fashion that most of the European delegates may sail together to New York and go from there directly to Washington. From the personal promises given at Barcelona, and the general desire manifested to see the United States, the foreign attendance will undoubtedly be large. This congress will be very interesting to the average American, with his desire to know things at first hand, while to the student of current events it should be a matter of extreme interest, for nothing can be more significant of the trend of the times than this great and growing movement for international comprehension, which is the most practical means toward the bringing about of universal peace.* Aside from the recognized educational value of Esperanto and its undoubted assistance in the fields of commerce and science, it would seem almost a duty for every intellectual man and woman to look into and aid in speedily establishing upon a firm basis the International Language, Esperanto.

EDWIN C. REED.

* See "The Necessity for an International Language," by Ivy Kellerman, Ph.D., in the "Popular Science Monthly," September, 1909.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

POETRY.

When Sara Wiley Drummond was writing "Dante and Beatrice"* she took the word *stars* to turn and chime upon in imitation of her protagonist and because he loved the stars (herself, like Keats, loving the moon better) hardly aware how strongly and terribly another word echoed through her pages from the very first line, the great name of *death*. She died before she could set to them her finishing touches, but not before they were stamped with her image and superscription; and they lie in hand now not only to testify to her steadily maturing powers, but to enable us to spy out for once a poet's method. Here, along with much fair and happy imagery, we find already present the complicated harmonies of the line, and the pregnant epithet and phrase. She purposed, we hear, another half-year's work which should have smoothed the verse and eased the cadence and have simplified the somewhat elliptical and ambiguous constructions which here and there darken the limpid and melodious style. Yet how much better can we spare the polish than we could have spared the poem, and even unfinished as it is, where else shall we find among this year's publications, or the last, or the year's before, such welding of poetry to drama, such lyrical and sustained blank verse, such a passion, chaste and noble, such rich and intimate imagery with power to charge the natural world with human emotion, universal and personal, and touch the reader with the thrice-augmented power of both.

This last characteristic, in the present play, shows most advance on "Alcestis" and on "Philibert" and may well be illustrated here. She writes of

* "Dante and Beatrice." By Sara King Wiley. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

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"A splendor of purple hills that touch the sky,
A vastness like the spaces of the sea."

And again with a sweep like the night wind's own:

"Now use me for the trumpet of thy might
Wind of the spirit, blown beneath the stars!"

Rarely has a storm been so fraught with spiritual significance as that in which Dante knocks at Beatrice's door:

"Some one is coming with great need to come,
Or quick desire to follow in wind or flame,
The thunder bellowing after—"

And again, in preparation for the supreme moment of the scene and of the play:

"The storm returns amain
Heavy in purple. A chattering of the leaves
Shakes all the tree-tops and a throbbing light
Quickens and goes. I cannot see your face,
But your slight form blots on the window's glare
With every flash. The perfume of your dress
Stifles me here. Hark to the warring winds
That beat against the darkness, on and on."

Alike to those who had seen her pass and those who had not, the exquisite reticence of the brief biographical notice will be eloquent. An impression of her personality is recorded there; here is a question only of the kind and scope of her talent as it marked her work, and poetry such as that cited, such as that which springs to the light at every page, gives her measure as a poet. That Mrs. Drummond's genius was primarily lyrical let witness, if need be, the delicate and long-drawn loveliness of the girls' song above their broideries that, breathing the violet breath of maidenhood and spring, divinely dallies with the innocence of love; or the beautiful, image-charged melodious rain song. She has left in the few slender volumes that enclose what of her life was least perishable as it was most dear, a complete and lovely record. After the classical episodes of "Daphne," "Endymion," of "Orpheus" and "The Fawn," which belong to her maiden days and culminate in the aria and chorus of Iphigenia, she wrote Alcestis, finishing it in the early months of widowhood. "The Coming of Philibert" marked a deliberate turning to the outer world with its large and multitudinous interests, its various

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types and a new feeling for its compelling freshness and loveliness; "Dante and Beatrice" was to have marked, in a sense, a new beginning. The piece, at core lyrical, was a prelude to maturity, with verse richer and graver, with feeling deepened and exalted and a preoccupation with great passions and great deeds that pass beyond the individual lovers to the wider duties that call women now, to the services of a common brotherhood recognized at last. Beatrice says:

> "I have lived like a flower blown in the sun,
> Yet the wind whispers of the distant waves,
> And the stars beckon to mysterious skies:
> For I will tell you of my solemn dreams
> That hand in hand with God I serve His world."

Radiant and ardent, of unconquerable youth, she of the vivid grace and fragile charm has passed, leaving the world poorer and colder, because a poet, ever wielding the high calling with true and sustained reverence, can build no more the lofty rhyme for earthly ears.

Edith Wharton is a prose-writer *par excellence,* and while she reaches the lyric pitch* in thought and substance there are moments when, fine craftsman that she is, diction and cadence halt and move in the measure of prose.

> "Thou sawst me in the cloud, the wave, the bough,
> The clod commoved with April."

The word "commoved" somehow translates us quickly into a realm of prose, as also does the false stress in the second line below:

> "Yea, this we wait for, this renews us, this
> Incarnates us, pale people of your dreams," etc.

But just because she has so won the mastery of a prose style, she cannot give forth her full feeling about life without offering us poetry, for undoubtedly the substance of her thought dwells often in the realm of poetry.

The dramatic monologue of "Vesalius in Zante," reminiscent in form as it is of the great master of the dramatic monologue,

* "Artemis to Actæon." By Edith Wharton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

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is full of subtle psychology, fire and high thought, and its form is justified by such splendid lines as:

> "They only, who reconquer day by day
> The inch of ground they camped on overnight,
> Have right of foothold on this crowded earth."

And again:

> "But I so hugged the fleeting self of me,
> So loved the lovely perishable hours,
> So kissed myself to death upon their lips,
> That on one pyre we perished in the end."

Best of all, Mrs. Wharton succeeds in the sonnet, that form which by its set laws and narrow compass offers a bridge between prose composition and poetry, and if one were to ask of whom she had most diligently studied the art of sonnet-making the answer, him who made "The House of Life" rises from such lines as:

> "I heard her feet in irretrievable flight,"
> "The touch of kisses that have missed my brow,"

Most exquisite is the sextet from sonnet VIII:

> "But other hearts a long, long road doth span,
> From some far region of old works and wars,
> And the weary armies of the thoughts of man
> Have trampled it and furrowed it with scars,
> And sometimes, husht, a sacred caravan
> Moves over it alone, beneath the stars."

Mrs. Wharton is of the elect. She is one of those who accomplish whatever they set their hands to and she has innumerable facets to her soul. Having proved that she is among the finest writers of prose America has ever produced, she flashes another facet upon us, and we have a new poet and one we could not spare.

We have already expressed our good opinion of the scholarly work of Mrs. Dargan in these pages on the occasion of the publication of her "Lords and Lovers and Other Dramas." Despite the excellence of the work there, she still lacked the artist's free hand, the full conviction and fire of maturity. The present volume,* we feel sure, is apprentice work. It bears every mark of

* "Semiramis and Other Plays." By Olive Tilford Dargan. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

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being an earlier effort than "Lords and Lovers." One constantly sees the student's attempt and the girl's conceptions. "The Poet," the last play in the volume, trembles on the historic step from the sublime. Genius is perilously near to madness and Poe notably wavered between the two states. Poe handled by the fiery imagination of young maidenhood, missed the effect of genius to give that of its grotesque companion. Indeed, this play completely misses the mark. "Semiramis" tries to make up for poverty of emotion and inspiration by overloading with action and a huddled design. Armies, enemies, friends, servants, hurry and scamper back and forth across the stage, and doubts, trust and mistrust fairly upset each other as they claim the heroine's mind.

The book shows much haste and carelessness in composition in more ways than one. There are many misprints; speeches put into the mouths of the wrong characters; mistakes in cadence and rhythm.

Here and there one gets a fine or fiery line, but they are all too few. Mrs. Dargan has in her the making of a dramatist, but we make the assertion upon the witness only of her former book.

We have always known Mr. Hewlett was a poet making prose. Had he willed the higher task, he might have been that rarest growth of earth—a poet. The thin blue volume* is in part a reissue of an earlier volume which expired painlessly, the author says a few months after birth. The additions to that small volume, namely, the three long poems "Leto's Child," "The Niobids" and "Latmos" set the seal of true poet on this volume. With the scholar's sense of time, Mr. Hewlett has waited eleven years to publish his poems, knowing doubtless that true worth will always find a market and only transient stuff need catch at occasion.

Every poet sometime writes his hymn to Intellectual Beauty, and the trilogy of poems on Hymnia gives Mr. Hewlett's pictures of three approaches to the shrine. In the first the legend of Callisto serves to point the sorrows, suffering disintegration of

* "Artemision: Idylls and Songs." By Maurice Hewlett. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

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the sensual mind; "The Niobids" is a poem dealing with the downfall of those proud souls who think to rival with their earthly gifts the very goddess herself; and in the third poem, "Latmos," we have the unending pursuit, the unsatisfied desire.

Hymnia, repenting of her kindness to a boy, realizes that:

> "All alone
> Her way must be, until in mortal man
> That grace of God be given to look upon
> Beauty for what it is, not what it can
> Give unto us for sop to batten on."

And the poem ends:

> "But let him write
> Who knows her best; thus only goes his prayer
> That she withdraw not from him; but still spare
> Some little hint of beauty deep and calm
> To cool his fever. He has no further care
> What other fortune fall him, so the psalm
> Incarnate in her, shrill as mountain air,
>
> "Fan her young breath upon him as she flits
> Across him, looking downward where he sits;
> Or with grave beckoning in her solemn eyes
> Bid him to follow her oft; as befits
> Attendant on her."

Of the lesser poems there is less to say. "Preparation" opens with the splendid line, "I arise to anoint my soul," and a shock is given one by the sudden downfall of the second line,

> "With the unction of her sweet breath."

"To Crocuses" is full of spring and youth and young delight. Everywhere are faithful imagery and haunting lines, none more exquisite than these:

> "Below him as he lay, the muffled sheep
> Like tombs adown the hillside seemed to creep."

The book is one students and lovers of poetry dare not miss.

"One more unfortunate," one exclaims when one reads the tragic little foreword to these poems* in which John Davidson says

* "Fleet Street and Other Poems." By John Davidson. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1909.

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farewell to the world and explains that he could not live on his pension, that he had borne asthma and other annoyances for years, only to find that he had now to bear cancer. So with plans still halting and achieving in mid-air, he took his own life. It is not in the rough-and-ready economy of this world to nurse genius. The survival of the fittest is its method, and that means that who can hew down surrounding growth and clear a space may stand. Apparently John Davidson could not accomplish this. He desired to make things which the world did not want and would not pay for. The world was not all unkind to him; it gave him a little pension, but it would not buy his wares. Doubtless the world would be a lovelier planet if it bought more poetry and less meat; if it applauded spiritual aspirations and noble insight and turned its back on cunning, greed and power. But the world is so big and poets are so little, who shall constrain it? They must even consent to serve beauty and truth without reward. John Davidson has the strength of revolt against an evil order in all his poems. To those who neglected his development since his first three volumes until the last one the notable points are the increase of minute observation; the intent, strained attention to microscopic detail; the unrelieved self-consciousness, the mind turning trebly in upon itself and over-intent to every step of its operations. The handling of words is remarkable and the descriptions are exact to the point of eloquence; it is truth hounded and tracked until it shrieks its name.

No man living to-day speaks of poetry with more authoritative voice than Robert Bridges,* and so this volume bearing his introduction and his seal is to be reverently handled by students of poetry. The Memoir and Introduction is all one could ask, reverent, interpretative, self-effacing.

The Poems themselves, barring the wonderfully pictorial "St. Mary Magdalene," are frankly difficult and have no word at all for the facile reader. Profound and philosophic thought clothed always in austere garmenting, indeed sometimes by almost impenetrable veils, is what is offered. To those who persevere de-

* "Selected Poems of Richard Watson Dixon with a Memoir." By Robert Bridges. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909.

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spite this, much richness of thought will be given, though no solution of problems is attempted. The poems treat much

> "Of the measureless annoy
> The pain and havoc wrought
> By fate on man."

To the question of the meaning of natural phenomena regarded as data from which man may deduce or conjecture his relation to the mind of the universe, Mr. Bridges says Canon Dixon's answer attempts no further decision than this: that "nature is grave and rebuking man's folly forbids any bad solution." The final words of the book give insight into the matter and quality:

> "But let me not have failed to heaven and earth
> In setting forth with order not undue
> The mighty workers of this world's affairs,
> Fatality, infinity, these two,
> The one the only yoke the other wears."

If Mr. Bridges's sincere and scholarly preface is all that such a work should be, Mr. Gilbert Chesterton's Introduction is all that has no right to the circulation of print. It is pert, flippant and insincere; it slings about irreverently great names, great words and great causes. It is a child's wanton dragging of smuggled treasure through the dust of the daily frolic. It is a question whether the duty of the critic is to pass the work by with the silent scorn it deserves or to warn such as might be deceived that the whole matter is a little word-juggling meant to deceive their simplicity. To one who can write of the "aimless revolt of Shelley" and who can say such silly things as that "the revolution succeeded in France because it was an affair of soldiers; the revolution failed in England because it was an affair of poets," there is little to reply. It merely means that cheap journalism has won a cheap freedom to utter pert remarks by a fat and phlegmatic optimism too lazy to know its facts or weigh its words.

The poems* which Mr. Chesterton thus introduces had knocked, so the author naïvely tells us, for four years at the publisher's doors in vain. The writer meant well and might have been par-

* "A Vision of Life." Darrell Figgis. With an Introduction by Gilbert Chesterton. New York: John Lane & Co., 1909.

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doned much but for the introduction. Yet it is but honest to say that the thought is commonplace throughout and foolish at intervals. The diction contains such gems as "exquisitry," "liverous passions," "a ruddy whore mellisonant," "surfeit illumes the shadow of joy," "I could not see aught goal," "harlots nude are chasteless and brazen," "the throstle *glimpses* a vision"; while prepositions are simply shaken out with a pepper-pot over the pages where they go "winning out," "waxing on," "learning out" and "stripping to."

One song has the impertinence to begin: "I arise from dreams of thee." No wonder the journalist attempts to belittle the great poet from whom his poet is to take entire lines.

One stanza is worth quoting entire, as it gives the flavor of the whole book and sums up so completely all Mr. Chesterton's view of life; thought not being offered in the form of a paradox, it lacks the false glamour of originality the journalist usually lends his obvious views:

"Howe'er 'tis,
Baby, shun no duty's call.
Fear thy God, love peoples all,
Then whatever shall befall,
Thine is bliss."

Aristophanes was the father of Mr. Trevelyan's brilliant *divertissement** and the freakish muse of Browning the mother, but Hermes stood godfather and gave stolen goods for a christening gift. It was not enough that he should furnish the slave, Xanthus, with a speech cut over from Falstaff's and the queen Merope with a scruple of Macbeths, and catch up more than a cry from Marlowe, but he splices a half line or so from Tennyson to a phrase of Shelley's and adds the burden of one of the loveliest Elizabethan lyrics to make weight; elsewhere, too, the author appropriates almost the whole of the superb madrigal which the Christ Church manuscript has preserved for us. This is Saturnalia with a vengeance. But as at the solstitial feast all licenses were lawful, so here all may pass as part of the very excellent fooling. These capers and morris dances of wit, these

* "Sisyphus: An Operatic Fable." By R. C. Trevelyan. New York, London, Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908.

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japes and knaveries would seem alongside the last light opera and Sunday supplement rather stately fooling, but in them the ancient comedy yet lives, and ginger is hot in the mouth, nor yet quickly flavorless. Laughter, ironic yet full-throated, comes back for the second reading and the third, and with laughter keeps company song of a high lyrical quality. The poetry goes excellently well; better, however, in the more tripping passages than in the weightier ones which are measured in part at least by quantity. Quantitative verse in English is a species not yet acclimated; a problem still unsolved, though now and then some one makes a near approximation to it. Sisyphus in places is a real approximation tunable to any ear; in places it might seem a chaotic mumble to such as have never listened to that favorite of the austerer muse, the Doyen of great and scholarly poetry, Robert Bridges, measuring off such verse with mighty-mouthed harmony. Since indubitably Dr. Bridges would back our poet here, criticism must be content to back him too and seal approval. Indeed, we would there were more such poetry, for comedy and song are of the great sisterhood, and the fantastic is often the frolicking of happy genius.

FICTION.

Here is a novel,* a work of amazing poetic genius, which it is fair to say would probably have lain hidden forever in a drawer had it happened to be born in our own land. For full as it is of beauty and poetry, and of the significance of nature and nature's impact upon the soul of men and man's response to nature, of the irony and terror of destiny, of the tragedy of man's hopes and loves, it is written at a pitch of emotion heartily disliked in our own comfortable land. We want no tragedies and this is a sort of Teutonic "Jude the Obscure"; less grotesque and bitter perhaps, more poetic and appealing. A great and truthful picture it is of the Sphinx's torturing game with consciousness, and yet throughout the book there flows the healing stream of natural beauty refreshing and restoring wherever wounds are sorest, hope most broken.

* "*Der Blumen-Hiob.*" Von Hans Kyser. Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1909.

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A bright and pretty little double love-story,* set in the beautiful scenery of the Jura Mountains where they overlook Lake Leman, is this story of French mountain-folk in 1871 when the Germans were still skirmishing about and the bushwhackers were busy. War, however, is no terrible thing seen through this author's happy imagination, and all the mishaps and misadventures move on swiftly to happy solutions among these people of slight sorrows and slight thoughts. The setting of the tale is charming and the characters are all likable. Even the worst villain is converted midway in the book, drops all his evil designs and makes friends with the good people, while his ally comes to a swift and untimely end earlier still. The book is a pleasant one and there is but one unkindly word to say of it. No reproof could be too severe for a writer who sends pronouns wandering aimlessly down his pages without antecedents, who invariably chooses the wrong preposition and who cannot distinguish between a noun and a verb. "To pontificate," "to blood them," "to precise the trouble," "to refuge others," are a few of the flagrant examples of bad grammar in the book.

* "The Men of the Mountain." By S. R. Crockett. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909.

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WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ROME.

LONDON, *October, 1909.*

ALL parties are bracing themselves for the great struggle. Within a few days after this letter appears in print we shall know whether we are to be plunged into a political and constitutional crisis of the first magnitude or whether, for the time being, it has been postponed or evaded. Prophecy under such conditions is an enterprise of even more than the usual hazard. Nobody, I think, can say definitely what course the Lords will adopt, whether they will accept the Budget or reject it, or amend it or hold their judgment in suspense until the people have passed upon its provisions. There is a strong and growing feeling that they will not accept it as it stands, but nobody can point to a single utterance by any Peer of the least political weight that justifies the feeling. I have talked of late with a good many Peers on the subject and, although they were hostile to the Budget, not one of them would admit that he was prepared to take the extreme step of throwing it out. From my talks with them I got the impression that the idea of rejecting the Budget —and anything short of acceptance is equivalent to rejection—is one that has been encouraged from without rather than prompted from within; that the Lords, if left to themselves, would follow the settled, normal practice of centuries and assent with nothing more than a verbal protest to the financial proposals of the Commons; and that any doubts as to their action in the matter are due to the clamor of the Opposition press, to a sort of angry suspicion they are being "dared" by the Government, and to the political pressure of the Tariff Reformers and the brewers. The only statesman of the first rank who has publicly urged the

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Lords to reject the Budget is Mr. Chamberlain. He did so in a letter read out at a meeting in Birmingham addressed by Mr. Balfour; and it was extremely noticeable that Mr. Balfour in his speech took no notice whatever of the suggestion. Lord Rosebery, again, in his famous attack upon the Budget at Glasgow was careful to refrain from offering his fellow members of the Upper House any advice as to the line they should take. The "Times" once more, though it has fought almost every clause in the Budget with extraordinary vigor and skill, has lent no countenance to the revolutionary proposal that the Lords should throw it out. The "Spectator," which began by strongly advocating the right of the Upper Chamber to amend the Budget, has since abandoned a position that was opposed to the accepted usages of the Constitution and now expressly advises the Lords to accept it. It does so on the same ground that a General Election brought about by the Lords would result in the return of the present Government with a majority only slightly reduced, while the passing of the Budget would allow the nation to test the real character and effects of Mr. Lloyd-George's finance and so hasten the inevitable reaction.

The question, therefore, is still in suspense; no irrevocable decision has been taken; and if one were to say that the Lords do not want to reject the Budget, but feel they may be driven to it, the situation would, perhaps, be described with as much accuracy as the conditions allow. Powerful forces are undoubtedly at work to compel rejection. The Tariff Reformers who dominate the Unionist Party know, even if they do not acknowledge, that their cause has made no headway in the past six months, that the idea of taxing the food of the people never seemed less attractive than when contrasted with the idea of taxing land, and that, if once the Budget is allowed to become law, their propaganda has received its death-blow. They are, therefore, exerting themselves to the utmost to convince the leaders of their Party that only decisive action by the Lords can save them from political bankruptcy. The brewers, again, who were successful in inducing the Upper House to throw out the Licensing Bill of last year, whose influence with the Conservative Party is as indisputable as it is unhealthy, and who have already persuaded Lord Lansdowne, the leader of the Conservative majority in the Upper Chamber, to agree to receive a deputation after the

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emergence of the Budget from the House of Commons and before its submission to the House of Lords, are equally vehement for rejection; and their forces are joined by those of the landowners and the great banking and financial interests. The pressure, therefore, upon the Conservative leaders in the House of Lords is very great, nor are arguments wanting to sustain it. The Budget, it is said, is more than a scheme for meeting the financial needs of the current year. Many of the taxes it imposes, and especially the taxes on land, will by the Government's own admission cost more to collect than they will yield in revenue for many years to come. Under the guise of a Budget Mr. Lloyd-George has really aimed at effecting a vast social and economic revolution. His land taxes not only smooth the way to the nationalization of the land, but are defended by arguments that would justify the realization of nine-tenths of the Socialists' policy. Many projects, such as that for taking a valuation of all the land in the kingdom and for developing rural interests and improving the road system, are made to form part of the Budget, although their purpose and effect are only incidentally financial. And on this hodgepodge of legislation the opinion of the country has never been asked or given. There is no mandate for it. The nation has not been consulted as to a single one of its provisions. For what purpose does the House of Lords exist if not to provide an interval for ascertaining the sober judgment of the nation? The legal right of the Lords to reject a Finance Bill is unquestioned, and the fact that it has not been exercised for many years does not and cannot mean that it has therefore lost its efficacy. And at what time or in what cause could it be better enforced than to stand between the nation and a Budget that attacks capital, that makes every property-owner tremble in his shoes, that diminishes employment at home by driving investments abroad, and that points clearly to Collectivism as the goal to which England is drifting?

Such are the arguments by which the Lords are being pressed to throw out the Budget, and in London, at any rate, they find an immense acceptance. But clubland and the West End and the opinions they represent are hardly ever synonymous with England, and at this moment they are probably the most fallacious guides that any one could consult who wished to get an insight into the real feeling of the country. I have never, indeed, been

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more struck by the remoteness of the metropolis from national sentiment and by its inability to look beyond the four-mile radius, than during the last few weeks. Six months ago the Government were in the trough of popular disfavor. The reality of the reaction was so indisputable as to make the confirmation of the by-elections seem almost superfluous. Everything indicated a rapid decline. The most sanguine Ministers did not anticipate any better result from an appeal to the country than a majority dependent upon the Irish Nationalist vote. The Opposition were confident that even this result could not be obtained and that a General Election would return a Unionist Government to power with a clear lead over Liberals, Labor men and Nationalists combined. But he must be blind indeed who does not see that the whole situation has been radically transformed, that all the anticipations of six months ago have now to be abandoned, and that the Government at the supreme moment have made a miraculous recovery. From the tone and temper of public meetings all over the country, from those casual but illuminating conversations one overhears in railway carriages and wherever men do congregate, from the innumerable little tokens and straws that enable one to divine the inner workings of the popular mind, I get the distinct and overwhelming impression that the Government are stronger to-day than at any moment since they took office and that a General Election, if precipitated by the action of the House of Lords in regard to the Budget, would rouse in their support a degree of enthusiasm little, if at all, inferior to that of 1906. There is no apathy among Liberals to-day, no vacillation, none of that feeling—which six months ago was demoralizing even the rank and file—that the Government were making themselves ridiculous. On the contrary, wherever you come across a Liberal you come across a fighter, a man caught up by the impulse of what he profoundly believes to be a great and worthy cause, a man filled with the moral fervor that one half thought had been buried in Gladstone's grave. It is a fervor that has not only revivified Liberalism and brought to it once more the consciousness of being on the crest of the rising wave, but has communicated itself, unless I am wholly at fault, to the thousands whose party allegiance and principles are fluid and shifting and whose silent, dispassionate votes determine the rise and fall of British Governments.

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The sole and sufficient cause of all this revival of energy and confidence is the Budget. There is a theory you will hear in the Carlton Club smoking-room that the Budget is not really popular, that all the clamor in its favor is raised by a bullying, stentorian minority, and that the deeper, more placid and in the end more effective currents of public opinion are running strongly against it. The theory is not intrinsically untenable. England is so difficult a country to gauge that one must always allow a liberal margin for the play of the unseen forces that may be felt and guessed at, but cannot be precisely traced. But in such matters I infinitely prefer, as a watch-tower from which to observe and calculate, a third-class railway carriage between, say, Manchester and Leeds to the whole of Piccadilly and Pall Mall. The theory that the popularity of the Budget, such as it is, is merely a factitious extravagance of the hour, and that the second thoughts of the nation will declare themselves strongly against it when the moment comes, is one I cannot subscribe to in the least. I have looked for evidence of it and found none. Not one of those subtle intimations or instincts that together form one's sense of atmosphere tends to confirm it. In my deliberate and, I believe, unbiassed judgment the Budget is not merely the most popular Budget, it is the only popular Budget that has ever been presented to this country. It is popular because it embodies a vast programme of social betterment, because it strikes a blow for that equality of opportunity which is the essence of democracy, because it exacts from monopolies that have hitherto escaped it a fair, and no more than a fair, return for the privileges extended to them by the community on which they thrive, because it asserts the right of the State to a share of the wealth created by the State, and because it observes the cardinal principles of Free-Trade finance.

Perhaps six months ago I should have said that the House of Lords was still the most popular and responsive Second Chamber in the world and quite beyond reach of a successful attack. Nobody would say as much to-day. Rightly or wrongly, the masses in this country, without distinction of party, believe it to be a fundamental part of the British Constitution that the Lords should have no voice in finance. They are utterly unimpressed by quibbles over the difference between "legal rights" and Constitutional usages and between a tax and a Tax Bill;

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and they will never tolerate the violent breach in the fixed practice of the Constitution that the amendment or rejection of the Budget by the Lords would amount to. If the Upper Chamber adopts either of these extreme courses it will rouse against itself not only the enthusiasm engendered by the Budget, but the ingrained and ineradicable jealousy that any attempt to encroach upon the absolute discretion of the Commons in matters of finance has always and invariably inspired. I confess that the levity, recklessness and bitter partisanship with which the Lords are being urged to force a crisis leave me appalled. If they act on that advice their fate as a Second Chamber with any useful attributes is well-nigh sealed, and the Budget will sink into insignificance compared with the revolution they will have provoked. Much more is at stake than the land clauses or the super tax or the license duties or any merely political issue. The whole system of British government is at stake; and a General Election fought out on the joint question of the Budget and the House of Lords can only end in a new England under a new and hazardous Constitution.

ROME, *October, 1909.*

ITALY is undoubtedly not fortunate with regard to royal visits. The "evil eye," as they call it here, began in 1881, when in October of that year King Humbert and Queen Margherita went to Vienna to visit the Austrian Sovereigns, and to lay the foundation stone of the alliance which, concluded May 20th of the next year, has ever since bound the Peninsula to the Central Empires, although the manifestations of latent hostility are very frequent between Vienna and Rome, and even to a smaller degree between Rome and Berlin. Of course when the Italian Sovereigns went to the Austrian capital it was understood that the Emperor Francis Joseph would return the visit, but when negotiations were opened as to the details and arrangements it was found that he had never meant to set foot in the Eternal City, as a Papal decree exists prohibiting, under penalty of excommunication, any Catholic Sovereign or ruler from being the guest of the "usurper" of the Pontifical States in what had always been their capital. The Hapsburg Monarch had already visited the great Victor Emmanuel in Venice after that region had been freed from

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Austria, but King Humbert, now that the question was put in the above terms, in entire agreement with his Government and people, proudly answered that he would receive the Austrian Emperor nowhere but in Rome and at the Quirinal, which the Vatican and the Papal party still call "the Apostolic Palace." Later Dom Carlos, the martyred King of Portugal, being the son of King Humbert's sister, believed that the prohibition would not extend to him on account of his close relationship to the Italian Sovereigns and started for Rome on an official visit to the Quirinal, but was stopped in Paris, where he was informed that if he carried out his project the Catholic Party in Portugal would join the Republicans and overthrow the Monarchy. Thus Dom Carlos's visit was also abandoned.

Last year the Prince of Monaco had announced his intention of being the guest of King Victor at the Quirinal for the purpose of delivering a lecture on Oceanography before the Italian Royal Geographical Society, but it was hinted that this Prince, whose desires of acting as mediator are well known, intended to see on the spot whether it was possible to do anything to bring about a reconciliation between the Vatican and Quirinal. What really took place is not yet entirely disclosed, but the fact remains that the Prince, on the ground of a bad cold, first postponed and then relinquished his project. The action of the Vatican is not known, but people remember that the ruler of the small Principality of Monaco is indebted to the Holy See for the annulment of his marriage with Lady Douglas Hamilton, and that he has at various times offered his yacht and his dominion in case the Pope should flee from Rome.

The only Catholic rulers who have defied the Pope's prohibition to come to Rome are the Prince of Bulgaria, who visited King Humbert after Leo XIII refused to consent to the then baby Boris, the Crown Prince of Bulgaria, changing his religion from Catholicism to Orthodoxy, and President Loubet.

The above-mentioned troubles were, as we have seen, always connected with Catholic Rulers, and were to a certain extent explainable, being the result of a situation unique in history, since Rome houses two Sovereigns, in conflict with each other, but each recognizing the other as a Sovereign.

It was another question, however, when fresh troubles arose with regard to the visit of the Russian Emperor to Rome. The

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Tsar should have come to Rome in October, 1903, and his presence at the Quirinal was intended to have a great political significance outside Russo-Italian relations, as it would have affected Germany and Austria on the one hand and France on the other, since it was meant as the consecration of a new policy which King Vitcor tried to inaugurate after his accession to the throne. The presence of Italy in the Triple Alliance, owing to the inevitable friction between her and Austria, the latter being almost invariably supported by Germany, placed the Peninsula in a position of inferiority and almost of subjection.

The young King, helped also by the family connections of the Queen—formerly a Princess of Montenegro—with the Russian royal family, understood that the only way to free his country was to bring about a *rapprochement* with the Muscovite Empire, then not yet weakened by the Japanese war and which was the only Power capable of checking the Austrian desire of preponderance. Even then it was known that Austria was preparing the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was contemplating a kind of *coup de main* on Albania, which was prevented by the Marquis Visconti-Venosta inducing Count Goluchowski to conclude an agreement by which Italy and Austria pledged themselves to respect the *status quo* there, and finally it was no secret that negotiations were going on at Constantinople to render possible a gradual German absorption of Tripoli. The gravity of such a situation will be easily understood when it is considered that Italy, while so treated by her allies, had concluded an agreement with France and with England in which her aspirations to Tripoli were acknowledged.

The visit of the Tsar, which should have been the crowning of this new situation, was suddenly interfered with by the attitude of a fraction of the Italian Socialists, who decided to receive the Russian ruler with hisses as a sign of protest against the autocratic Government of his Empire. Strong evidence has been gathered to demonstrate that Vienna was not extraneous to the attitude of the Socialists which Austrian emissaries fomented and encouraged. The Premier Zanardelli, telegraphing from his villa at Maderno, called them "savage demonstrations which put Italy beyond the pale of hospitable and civilized nations." To him Admiral Morin, who had succeeded Marquis Prinetti at the Foreign Office, telegraphed as follows after having received the Rus-

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sian Ambassador: "M. Nelidoff showed himself much preoccupied at the possibility of the hooting, and said that he would desire an explicit assurance of the certainty of the Italian Government that the Tsar would not suffer in Italy the least affront; that if such an assurance cannot be given in an absolute way he, in the interests of the good relations between Italy and Russia, thought that it would be opportune to find a pretext to defer the journey." The Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs answered, giving explicit and exhaustive assurances, and the King himself receiving M. Nelidoff confirmed them, saying that he would receive their Imperial Majesties (as the Tsarina was also coming) at the station and would be at their side throughout the time they remained in the Italian capital. After this Count Lamsdorff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, notified the Italian Ambassador in St. Petersburg that the Tsar "*espère pouvoir effectuer*" his journey in Italy between the 10th and 17th of October, remaining in Rome three days. All seemed settled when on October 10th M. Nelidoff went to the Foreign Office to read a statement to Admiral Morin in which he said that the hostile propaganda against the journey of the Tsar had produced a deplorable effect in Russia, and that he was "obliged by my position to watch over the preservation of good relations between our two countries, and am constrained to realize the conditions under which the journey would take place. My impressions, unfortunately, have aroused in me some fear that the hostile agitation of a portion of the Socialists may cause, notwithstanding all possible precautions, unpleasant incidents which would unfavorably impress the august visitors. As I could not in this respect assume any responsibility, I was obliged, scrupulously following the path of my conscience, respectfully to submit my impressions to my august Lord and express the humble advice that it would be advantageous to postpone the imperial journey."

Premier Zanardelli answered that he was "extremely surprised that, after the assurances of the Italian Government that the Emperor would be well received, M. Nelidoff should consider himself authorized to substitute his own responsibility to that of the Italian Government," and the King, telegraphing on October 11th, said that "the personal position of the Ambassador of Russia in Rome has become untenable through the small account which he has taken of the formal assurances of the Italian Gov-

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ernment." M. Nelidoff was immediately transferred to Paris, the King refusing to receive him in farewell audience, as he also refused an audience to him when, after having presided over the Second Peace Conference at The Hague, he came to Rome thinking that in the four years' lapse of time the King's displeasure would have evaporated. By a strange coincidence M. Nelidoff was still Ambassador in Paris when, for the first time, the Socialists of allied France threatened the Tsar with the same hisses as their Italian companions, obliging him not to set foot in the Republic and to receive its President at sea.

Now at six years' distance the visit of Nicholas II to Italy causes the same trouble with regard to the Socialists at home, and the same,—in fact, a greater,—apprehension to the other members of the Triple Alliance, as the negotiations for the fourth renewal of that alliance are now being initiated. It was supposed that the way in which the Tsar paid his late visits to King Edward and President Fallières—viz., on his yacht—would solve the question of the visit to King Victor, the two Sovereigns meeting in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic, thus avoiding any fear that the Russian Emperor would hear any of those Socialist hisses that M. Nelidoff in his diplomatic note called a "least affront." Suddenly it was announced that the visit had again to be postponed on account of the health of the Tsarina, but unfortunately, even if it were true, no one believed it, as is only too natural considering past experiences. Of course Austria and Germany are secretly delighted, understanding that these contrarieties are just what they need to keep Italy for another period of years bound to them, and to prevent Russia from strengthening her international position. In all this affair of the Tsar's visit there has been the greatest short-sightedness on the part of Russian diplomacy, as M. Nelidoff, and probably his present successor, Prince Dolgoruki, have not understood that they should have thanked that dozen Socialists who, notwithstanding all the precautions and measures adopted by the Italian Government, would certainly have hissed the Tsar, as such a childish demonstration on their part would have caused a reaction leading to the most colossal manifestation of enthusiasm which any Sovereign has ever received in the Eternal City.

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